Manga – Lost in Translation?

A study of American and German Manga Localisation

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Thesis submitted to the University of London for the Degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

London, the 12th of June 2009

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Abstract

While it has been argued in the past that organisational (re-)production of (foreign) media texts leads to a loss of creative value and that the translation robs the originals of their artistic status, this thesis argues that media are socially constructed entities that carry a multitude of voices encoded in their content and format. It thus does not focus on translation of a media text, in which a translator, re-writer and editors are involved, in terms of a textual comparison but as a practice carried out as integral part of the process of production. So are a multitude of other internal (marketing, public relations and sales) and external (laws, audiences, business environment) factors and voices. The thesis thus employes notions of polysemy to reflect on the different aspects encoded within the medium due the different approaches and interest the various areas of localisation are bound by. It thus breaks down the workflow into three different localisation stages: divided stages, during which specialists focus on singular aspects of production; the recreation of context, both in terms of the physical medium itself and the placement of it in a larger meta text; and finally the active framing and placing of the product in the local marketplace. At the end this internal focus is juxtaposed with those of external stakeholders.

This approach will be framed by using organisational localisation of manga in Germany and the USA as an examplar. Following a print medium through production allows the steps to become visible since every step is accompanied by a tangible object reflecting said stage.

Dedicated to my Family

I would especially like to thank my supervisor Dr. D. Martinez for her guidance and Carlsen and Tokyopop for allowing me to conduct my research in their companies.

I would further like to thank various employees of Broccoli Books, Comics One, CPM, Dark Horse, Del Rey, EMA, Panini, Viz, the countless freelancers questioned, as well as, my proof readers for their co-operation and time.

Both the DAAD and SOAS receive my thanks for partially financing this endeavour.

Last but not least I would like to thank my family and friends for their patience and support.

Contents

List of Exhibits

List of Illustrations

4.23 Kamio, Yoko: *Hana Yori Dango*, vol.14 © Margaret Comics, Shueisha 2002
4.24 Kamio, Yoko: *Hana Yori Dango*, vol.14 © VIZ 2005
4.25 Covers of *Banzai!*, No.10, and *Daisuki*, No.1© Carlsen Comics 2003

5.1 Labs, Robert: *Banzai! On Tour*, Banzai! 13, p.5 © Carlsen Comics 2002
5.2 Unpublished print of art: Labs, Robert: *Banzai! On Tour*; Japanese translation: Silke Niehusmann © Carlsen Comics 2002
5.3 A print out of Labs, Robert: *Banzai! On Tour*, *Bazai!* 13, p.4 and the cel with my Japanese translation of the German text, own picture
5.4 Akamatsu, Ken: *Negima* vol.3: 111 © Kodansha 2004
5.5 Akamatsu, Ken: *Negima* vol.1: 137 © Kodansha 2004
5.6 Akamatsu, Ken: *Negima* vol.3: 30 © Del Rey 2004
5.7 Pre-Print Internal copy of a Carlsen ad later published in the Handelsblatt © Carlsen 2002
5.8 Page Header Carlsen Comics Forum at Comics in Leipzig www.comics-in-leipzig.de/Forum/, logged February 2004
5.9 Tokyopop Germany Webpage, logged January 2009 © TOKYOPOP 2009
5.10 Tokyopop USA Webpage, logged November 2008 © TOKYOPOP 2008
5.11 Tokyopop mobile content, published in: Tokyopop (2007) *Tokyopop Company Profile – Our Vision 2007*: 16

6.1 Captain Tsubasa Point-of-Sales Promotion, listed in: *Carlsen Manga Vorschau 04/2002 – 09/2002*:9 © Carlsen Comics 2002
6.2 Various promotional information leaflets and books from: Carlsen Comics, EMA, Heyne, TOKYOPOP and VIZ, own image 2004
6.3 EMA Crew Shot, *Shinkan* 11 Editorial, Sommer 2006:1 © EMA 2006
6.4 Tokyopop Germany crew shot, Manga Sneaks Summer 2004:1 © TOKYOPOP 2005
6.6 Carlsen Comics, employee depicted in *Banzai!* Mediendaten 2001:6 © Carlsen Comics 2001
6.7 TOKYOPOP *takuhai* advertisement, in: Anime Insider, 26.11.2005, p.39 © Wizard Entertainment 2005
6.8 Tokyopop Join the Manga Revolution Poster, own image: taken at Blackwell/London 2005 © TOKYOPOP 2005
6.6 Tokyopop US ad, placed in Newtype USA January 2005 © TOKYOPOP 2005
6.7 VIZ setting up their booth at ComicCon 2003, own image
6.8 Carlsen Comics booth with visitors Leipzig book fair 2003, own image
6.9 Tokyopop promoting Rave at ComicCon 2003, own image
6.10 EMA Vorschau bis September 2003:21 © EMA 2003
6.11 Carlsen Manga Vorschau 10/2003 – 4/2004:12 © Carlsen 2003
6.12 Broccoli International 2004 Catalogue Q3 – Q4 2004: 4 © Broccoli 2004
6.13 TOKYOPOP Products Catalogue 2004: 17 © TOKYOPOP 2004
6.14 Manga Charts September 2001 © Carlsen/EMA 2001

7.1 Kishimoto, Masashi: *Naruto* vol.5: 176 © Carlsen 2004 – Germany
7.2 Kishimoto, Masashi: *Naruto* vol.5: 178 © VIZ 2005 – USA
7.3 Samura, Hiroaki: *Blade of the Immortal*, vol.7, ch.5: 3 © Dark Horse 2001- USA
7.4 Samura, Hiroaki: *Blade of the Immortal*, vol.6:.102 © EMA 2003 - Germany
7.5 Ozaki, Minami: *Bronze*, vol.2: 4© Carlsen 2001
7.6 Hirano Kouta: *Hellsing* vol.5: 183 © Planet Manga 2004 – Germany
7.7 Kitoh, Mohiro: *Naru Taru* vol.6: 122 © EMA 2002 – Germany
7.8 Kitoh, Mohiro: *Naru Taru* vol.6: 134 © EMA 2002 – Germany
7.9 Kitoh, Mohiro: *Naru Taru* vol.6: .218 © EMA 2002 – Germany
7.10 Katsu, Aki: *Manga Love Story*, vol.5: .93 © Carlsen 2004
7.11 Takeuchi, Naoko; Kodansha: *Sailor Moon* anime comic 21/2000, p.14 © EMA 2000
7.12 Shigeno, Shuichi: *Initial D* vol.1: 139 © TOKYOPOP 2003 – USA
7.13 Shigeno, Shuichi: *Initial D* vol.1: 135 © Kodansha 1997 – Japan

7.14 Various American age ratings: TOKYOPOP list, in: TOKYOPOP Products Catalog 2004: 152;TOKYOPOP logo from *TokyoTribes* Cover, vol.1 ©TOKYOPOP and DelRey logo from *Negima vol.1* © Del Rey 2003
7.15 Konomi Takeshi: *Prince of Tennis*, vol.10: 2 disclaimer © VIZ 2005
7.16 Konomi Takeshi: *Prince of Tennis*, vol.10: .76 © VIZ 2005
7.17 Carlsen Comics Manga Logo, taken from the cover of Kamui, vol.1© Carlsen 1995
7.18 Current Carlsen Comics Manga Logo © Carlsen 2000

Chapter 1
Introduction

Manga (Japanese comics)[1] are a medium, a medium that successfully crosses borders. Manga travels, like most media flows, both in officially sanctioned, through license agreements, and illegal ways, via piracy. Both of these modern media flows are global and multidirectional (c.f. Castells 1996; Sinclair *et al.* 1996; Treat 2000). Media are imported in their raw form by Diasporas and fans (c.f. Appadurai 1996; Gillespie 1995; Hong 1998; Napier 2007) and they are, in ever increasing numbers, appropriated for local audiences through translation (c.f. Allison 200b; Clements 2001; Cooper-Chen 2005; Katsuno and Maret 2004). The increase in the intellectual property trade has not only begun to include media from a greater number of sources, it has also grown in terms of the media formats exported and the number of texts in languages that the viewer, reader or gamer is not familiar with. This trend led to a rise in the number of translations carried out in an organisational context by the local licensors, commonly referred to in the industry as 'localisations' (Mazur 2007:338f). While a lot of media products are both imported and exported these days, not all of them reach a high level of popularity in overseas territories (c.f. Allison 2000b; Liebes and Katz 1990). Manga, however, have done exactly that over the last ten years. Not only have they become a well-established expression of popular culture which is financially successful in the West, they have also redefined views of the media format of comics[2] itself. Parallel to the number of manga localisations literally exploding since the late 1990s, their whole status has shifted: from niche product to mass media phenomenon, thus reshaping not only their local format, but also the expectations and views all stakeholders link to the medium and the publishers engaged in its localisation. All these facets are, in no small part, centred on the notion of what is perceived to be a proper form of translation for these texts,

[1] Manga can mean cartoon, comic strip, caricature or animation. The two kanji forming manga are 'man' (involuntarily, in spite of oneself) and 'ga' (picture) (Schodt 1997:18). The Korean term *manwha* and the Chinese term *manhua* are based on the same Chinese letters. The difference is pronunciation-based; the meaning however, stays the same.

[2] There are various definitions of comics, describing them in very broad terms such as sequential art or more specialised definitions such as the one used by McCloud: "Juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence intended to convey information or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer" (1994:9). This thesis will use the broader definition of comics as sequential art as its underlying premise.

by those involved in its production, its dissemination, its consumption and its critique. Perceived notions range from artistic value being lost the moment manga shifted from being 'a Japanese art form', lovingly localised by fans to further the artist's vision and the fandom's meta-text, to it losing its art in the singular machinery of organised mass production. But do we truly understand what happens when manga (or any mass medium) are translated? After all, as Croteau and Hoyes argue: it is necessary to learn to "see media products as the result of a social process of production that occurs within an institutional framework" (1997:33). In other words, when looking at a manga that has been translated, it is necessary to think about the path it took to reach its local audience: from the original acquiring of the license, followed by the physical localisation process and culminating in the internal and external articulations of said localisation. Furthermore, expanding on Hebdige's argument that there are a multitude of different polysemic interpretations open to the reader (1979:117), it can also be argued that there is also always a multitude of voices encoded within the medium itself by the people producing and, subsequently, framing it. This thesis thus sets out to follow manga through this organisational localisation process to determine if the individual input of those involved in its localisation is indeed swallowed by the system or whether the individual voices of those carrying out the tasks leave their mark in the final localised product. In order to achieve this goal, I conducted the main body of my research in two manga publishing companies: a German publisher, Carlsen Comics, and an American publisher, Tokyopop. However, before this thesis focuses on these publishers, it will define the medium and the scope of the inquiry itself.

1.1 What are manga?

The origin of manga is debatable. Some believe that the major influence in the development of Japanese manga was the impact of Westernisation (Maderdonner 1986:7). Others, such as Loveday and Chiba (1986:162f), insist that Japan possesses a completely unrelated history of graphic storytelling. All the same, it was the English-language political satire magazine *Japan Punch* (1860), with its cartoons, originally published by the British expatriate Wirgman, which gave modern Japanese comics their first name: *Ponchie* (Schodt 1997:38). Manga did not start to be designated by this name until Aikihara Aoki established this usage of the term in

1924 (Maderdonner 1986:3).[3] It was after the Second World War that Japanese manga started moving into an era when serialised story-manga became the new prevalent narrative form (Lent 1989:228). Story-manga are categorised by continuous storylines which can span hundreds or even thousands of pages, mirroring the narrative format of a Western serialised novel. These stories were published in two popular formats: telephone book-sized manga anthologies containing new chapters of a variety of stories and pocket-sized manga books called *tankôbon* (lit. books),[4] which collate the successful storylines much like graphic novels collate American pamphlet-sized comic issues (Sabin 1996:168). Today, Japanese manga range from single-panel gags and four-panel newspaper cartoons, through to full-length educational topics, to long serialised story-manga and how-to-do guides for all age groups of both genders. Yet, while only a small, selected fraction of the entire Japanese manga output is available in translation, its variety is growing. Thus, while Western publishers, for example, have specialised in the area of story-manga translation, these do not belong to a singular genre alone. The story-manga genres which have been translated range from crime, history, romance, (soft) porn, mystery, psycho thriller, comedy, 'geeky-guy-gets-lucky' (Rasmussen, online, 2002) romantic comedies,[5] fantasy, suspense, sport, cyber-punk, soap opera, gothic, adventure, *shônen-ai*,[6] horror, detective, *mecha*,[7] gore, politics, classical drama, to *magical girl*,[8] science fiction and Japanese language learning guides.

While manga publication peaked in Japan in 1995 at 2.3 billion published volumes (Schodt 1996:19), *tankôbon* and manga magazines still constituted around 38.1% of the volume of Japan's printed matter output in 2002. The overall market was worth

[3] The term had originally been devised by the artist Hokusai Katsukia (1812) as a title for his sketchbooks. Some manga artists started to appropriate the term as early as 1900 to 1905.

[4] *Tankôbon* literally translates as book. Its three Kanji, furthermore, indicate an ongoing series consisting of a number of volumes (*tan* = single, *kô* = to proceed, *bon* = book, or volume).

[5] Publishers usually categorise this genre as romantic comedy; however, I believe that it can be described as a sub-genre in its own right. The story always focuses on an average male boy or teenager who is surrounded by beautiful, often exotic or alien, women who love him.

[6] *Shônen-ai* (literal translation: boy-love), a genre that evolved during the 1980s and early 1990s, refers to a genre of mild to explicit homoerotic, predominantly tragic, stories focusing on beautiful young men, which are written for an older female teenage to adult audience. The current official Japanese genre designation is *Boys' Love*.

[7] *Mecha* could originally be summed up as science fiction; however, due to its distinct plot-devices, it has been established as an own sub-genre. The story lines are dominated by mechanical fighting machines, so called *mecha*, which are piloted by human beings (c.f. Gill 1998; Levi 1999).

[8] *Magical-girl* storylines were one of the first genres for girls to appear after the Second World War. They focus on female protagonists who temporarily gain extraordinary powers, either through costumes or special items, enabling them to become heroes, c.f. *Sailor Moon* (Takeuchi 1992), *Card Captor Sakura* (Clamp1997) or *Magic Knight Rayearth* (Clamp 1993) (c.f. Allison 2000a, b; Napier 1998).

$19 billion (€20.35 billion) and the revenue created by manga equalled 22.6% of the value ($4.3 billion/€4.6 billion) generated in this business sector (Shuppan Kagaku Kenkyujo 2002:2 and 216). However, the decline of the manga sector persisted through to 2006 (JETRO 2005:5, 2006:6), when the manga share of the market was worth around $4.1 billion (€3.26 billion) (Alafista, online, 2007). Although, in recent years, the overall output has continued to decline, single volumes of titles such as the pirate adventure *One Piece* (Oda 1997) set new records in printed volumes per print run (Shuppan Kagaku Kenkyujo 2002:223). Nakamura (2003:3) estimated that one third of the media content market is made up by comics, animation and games, with Japan clearly dominating the last two categories and their percentage of the comic category constantly growing. Selling manga licenses has become a new way of creating revenue for Japanese publishers over the last ten years. This rise is in line with other licensing deals that allowed Japan to become the second biggest exporter of media content by 2004 (ICv2, online, 07 January 2004). As McGray (online, 2000) pointed out, Japan and its cultural offerings are seen as 'cool' by people all over the world. In a display of what Nye coined 'soft power' (1990:188ff), the power granted by the appeal of culture and ideology to others, Japanese media have transcended possible approval of foreign texts being imported due to their sheer popularity (McGray, online, 2000). This position of possessing more and more highly sought after commodities has allowed the Japanese publishers to increase their influence vis-à-vis potential and existing business partners abroad, which at the same time guaranteed the business sector's financial health, even in the face of falling local revenues. By 2005, the number of international publishers seeking manga licenses had risen to the point where big Japanese publishers could not only choose to whom they were going to sell a licence, but were also granted the power to insist on content-related issues.

1.2 Why Study Manga Localisation?

There are a number of reasons why researching the localisation of manga is of special interest to me. Firstly, I became interested in the process of media production due to my fascination with the complexities of modern media which stand in clear contrast to our singular articulation of them, nowhere more so than in popular culture media texts that simultaneously exist in officially sanctioned and unofficially produced

transformatory and pirated renderings. Here, both sides find fault with the local renderings of the other, say that they lacking - but lacking what and why? Furthermore, the use of manga as an example of localisation interested me, since as a print medium the publishers allowed me, as a researcher, to visibly follow them through all stages of production. At all points, I had a tangible object in sight that went with the individual work stage I was reflecting on. Thus, I could follow specific choices made back to the person who made them.

Thirdly, the number of translated manga has risen sharply and so have the variety and the styles available, changing the production process from artisan-like work structures to a streamlined organisational approach of localisation. In conjunction with manga's success in Western countries, a wide variety of both primary and secondary material has become available to research. Yet, the number of topics covered remains selective. Jacqueline Berndt recently bemoaned that, while many scholarly works are published on manga, the limitations many writers place on their research still prevail, with most of her criticism stemming from what she sees as a lack of contextualisation (2008:295f).[9] While she refers to limitations in terms of media-specific aspects of comics and Japanese sources being covered, her argument similarly applies to a lack of Western works on manga production and localisation. As Jüngst pointed out, this fact is surprising considering the amount of translated manga that can be found in general (2004:1f). While some scholars do mention the possibility and reality of potential changes made by Western countries while localising manga, they do not engage with it. None of them ask where these changes take place, nor how or why they occur. This makes it impossible to determine whether the 'differences' which they have detected are based on the personal taste of localisers, societal norms, laws or technical requirements. They simply state facts such as name changes, changes in gender assignments (Allison 2000b:138) or re-cutting of material to change the story flow (Gravett 2004:152; Smith, online, 2005). The representation of manga in the mainstream press is also generally restricted to a few topics. Most information about manga, circulated within the mainstream press and on television, is extremely simplified, addressing only a few key issues. The themes that most media coverage about manga focuses on are sex – with pornographic and paedophilic overtones – and violence (c.f. Böckem and Dallach 2002; Breger 1990; Desser 1988; Izawa 2006; Kaps 2005). Despite this

[9] For a regularly updated bibliography of academic works, in English, on Japanese anime and manga refer to www.animeresearch.com/print.html

concern with the ill effects of manga, Western countries have proven to be the biggest buyers of Japanese licences.

Both the German and American manga markets, to which the two publishers I researched belong, increased drastically in output and revenue over the period between 2000 and 2005, although this growth began to slow down in 2005. Revenue created by early German manga translations remained low, albeit sales figures steadily grew between 1995 (763.000 DM – €390.115) and 1998 (1,587 million DM – €0.81 million) (Holowaty 2002:75).[10] By 2001, however, the German manga *tankôbon* market produced a revenue of around 45 Million DM (€23 million) (Buchreport Express 2001:18) and the total manga market reached a value of around €58 million in 2003 (Universum 2006:8). By 2005, annual growth had slowed down to 6.9% (Kaps 2005:3); nevertheless it reached a total value of close to €70 million (Universum 2006:8).

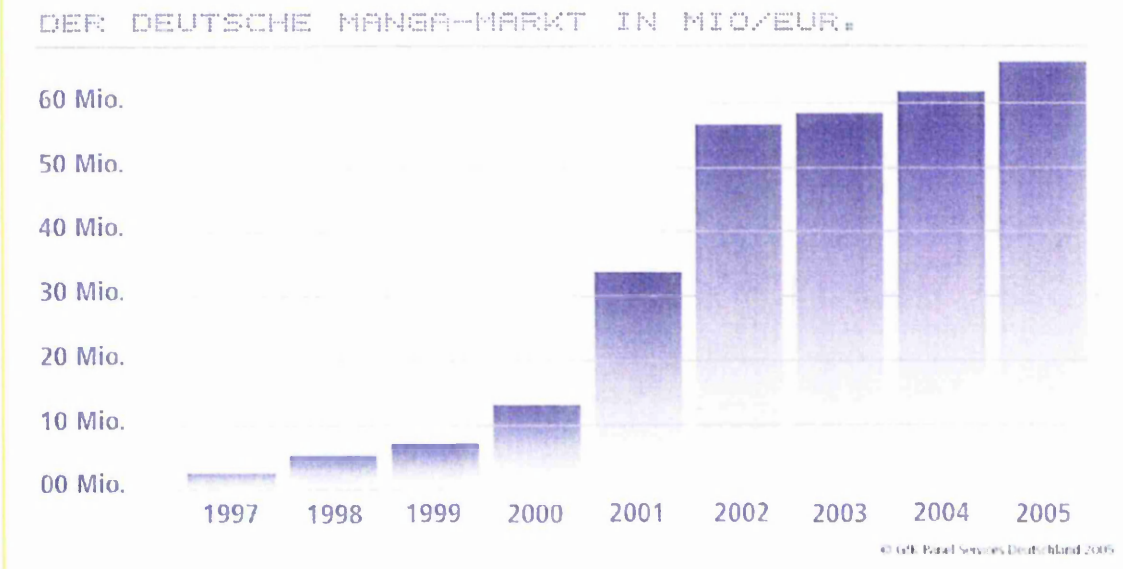


Exhibit 1.1 The German Manga market between 1997 and 2005 in Mio/Euro, source: Universum 2006:8

[10] 1996: 854,000 DM (€43.664) and 1997: 1.038 million DM (€0.53 million) (Holowaty 2002:75)

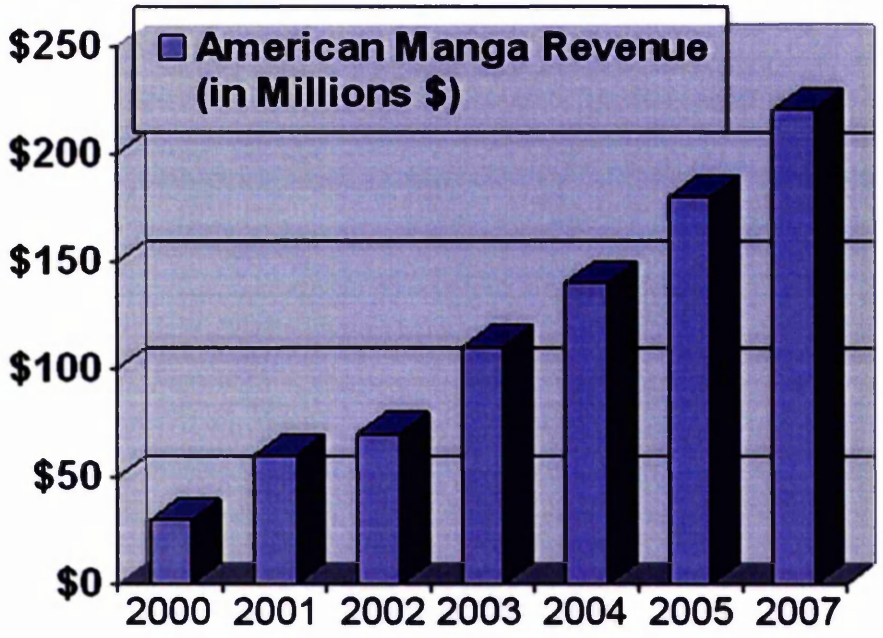


Exhibit 1.2 The American manga market between 2000 and 2005 and the revenue for 2007 in Mio./Dollar, source: own image

The American market grew from $50-60 million (€52.9-63.5 million) in 2001 (Nakao, online, 2005) to revenue of $100 million (€88.3 million) in 2003 (Reid 2004a:16). The following year, the joint revenue for the USA and Canada rose to $140 million (€112.6 million) (Nakao, online, 2005). According to the web-based industry source ICv2,[11] estimated American sales figures for 2004 ranged from $110 to $140 million (€88.42 to €112.5 million) (ICv2, online, 26 January 2005) and rose the following year to an estimated $155 to $180 million (€124.5 to €144.38 million) (ICv2, online, 03 May 2006). Sales then peaked in 2007 at an estimated $220 million (€160.5 million) (Publishers Weekly 10 December 2007:8). As can be seen, both markets have been growing over the last decade, trying both new formats and new content. The two companies I chose for my fieldwork placements were actively involved in quite a few of these changes.

There has also been a change in the number of Japanese publishing houses involved in the licence trade, with smaller Japanese publishers entering the market. Therefore, as I have noted, it is no surprise that manga, as well as anime, have developed into one of Japan's biggest cultural exports (Desser 2000:95). Japanese

[11] www.ICv2.com is an American industry source for retailers dealing with popular culture products such as comics, manga, anime and merchandise.

manga have constituted the majority of comic books sold in the German market for over seven years now (Buchreport Express 2001:18; Holowaty 2002:75; Lenz, online, 01 March 2008) and they have dominated the American graphic novel sales charts for years (c.f. Hibbs, online, 29 February 2009; ICv2, online, 13 August 2003; ICv2, online, 11 June 2004; ICv2, online, 15 May 2006). This leads to a discussion within Western society about the perceived dangers posed by comics, especially those of foreign origin (c.f. MacDonald 2004:29f; Reid 2004b:1) leading to forms of censorship, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Some scholars have taken a more in-depth look at the localisation of comics and animation (c.f. Clements 1995; Dorfmann and Mattelart 1975; Gravett 2004; Jüngst 2006; Macias 1999; McCarthy 1993), or at the consumption of untranslated materials that are interpreted based on imagery and an imagined knowledge of Japanese (Sabucco 2003). Yet, none of the aforementioned authors deal with the actual production processes of media as they are being localised by Western publishing companies in an organisational context. As Horn, a long term editor of American-localised manga, points out, though, a variety of steps must be taken before a manga is published in a foreign edition.

> A finished manga edition, there on the shelf for the reader, is not the product of licensing or editorial or design or sales and marketing, but of all of them together. And the reader experiences only the result, not the internal difficulties or intentions (Horn, interview, 25 January 2005).

Clements (1995:17) briefly touches on one of these issues when he discusses manga and, predominantly, anime within the USA and UK in terms of their distribution. While Dolle-Weinkauff's work (1990:70f) included reflections on the German translation of *Mickey Mouse* comics by Ehapa, she does not reflect on the process at length. The celebrity status of Ehapa's female German translator/publisher Erika Fuchs overshadows an engagement with the practice. More recently, Phillips (1996) and Jüngst (2004) have taken a look at comic translation in Germany, but again both focused exclusively on the text, without talking to either production staff or the translators themselves.

Contrary to these singular approaches, new directions in research, such as that of the Goldsmiths Media Group (2000:20ff), show that media production is a communal effort which takes place within an organisation. The same is true for the localisation of existing books through the process of translation, although some of the production stages differ. Manga localisation is also dominated by a functionality-oriented production process dictated by the specificities of the medium, such as the mixed textual and visual storytelling. This production process is structured further through the institutionalisation of the process within an organisational make-up that, on one hand, provides the means to deal with great quantities of manga and, on the other hand, streamlines the localisation process into a standardised workflow. I will reflect on the physical and non-physical labour attached to the localisation of the medium utilising data collected through my own fieldwork, literature research and qualitative interviews in order to highlight the interactive nature between the two processes. By doing this, I aim to move the research away from the previously studied meta discussion of media as mass produced content carriers, as well as the macro and micro studies conducted on organisation, translation and branding, onto a practical platform influenced by these discourses, but not limited by them, and informed by the realities within the two publishers researched.

1.3 Who are the Publishers Researched?

Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop, the two publishers researched for this thesis, are different in a variety of ways that are based on their historical genesis, competitive environment and their own organisational structures. So, before reflecting on how to best research them, it is important to understand how they came to be manga publishers and how they developed this media category.

1.3.1 Carlsen Comics

The first company is Carlsen; I spent a research period (July – August 2002) with their comic section, Carlsen Comics. Carlsen belongs to Bonnier,[12] a larger transnational corporate structure of intersecting book and comic publishers mostly situated in Northern Europe, amongst others. Bonnier operates in over twenty

[12] www.bonnier.se

countries and constitutes around two hundred regional companies and bigger organisations in which they hold shares (Bonnier Corporate, online, 2006).[13] Carlsen, originally an independent publisher founded in 1953 as a subsidiary of the Danish Illustrationsforlaget/PIB, was bought by Bonnier in 1980 and was subsequently integrated into their transnational network. Consisting of the comic and the children's books divisions, Carlsen Germany operates rather autonomously, but has the security of a bigger structure to back it in times of financial trouble (Recht 2000:13). This protection imbues them with extra credentials in the eyes of their partners, who can count on higher security with regards to their investments. Carlsen Comics publishes, next to their manga translations, translated European language comics and works with German artists on original concepts.

In terms of corporate brands, the two parts of Carlsen present themselves independently of each other, as exemplified by their different corporate logos. These logos clearly differentiate between the two arms of the company, with the logo for the book publishing arm looking more clear cut and serious than the more playful comic logo.

1.1 The colours of the Carlsen logo have developed over time; however the logotype has been constant since 1953.

1.2 The Carlsen Comic Logo first appeared in 1967.

The Second World War was a watershed in German comic publishing history, with local publications having ceased during the later years of the war (Dolle-Weinkauff 1990:23) and only slowly recommencing, mostly via the localisation of foreign titles (Krafft 1978:10).

Carlsen, early on, established a reputation with parents as a publisher of accessible, affordable and safe visual storytelling media for children via their localisation of *Petzi* (Hansen and Hansen 1953[1951])[14] and the so-called *Pixi Books*, which have been published under various themes since 1954. The small 10 x 10 cm (3.94" x 3.94")

[13] Bonnier consists of the units Books, Business Information, Business Press, Entertainment, Magazines and Newspapers

[14] The original Danish title is *Rasmus Klump*. These three-panel cartoons have been translated into at least nineteen different languages (www.petzi-forschung.de). The title character's name was changed to Petzi, in reference to the German colloquial word for bear 'Petz'.

booklets (Pixibuch, online, 2004) have been read by the majority of German children ever since, and by 2004 the number of published titles exceeded 1300, with overall print numbers of around 250 million and around six million copies sold per annum (Carlsen Comics, PR Release, 2004).

Carlsen segregated comics into their own department when the company moved to Reinbek in 1967. Carlsen's first official comic title for the German market was a translation of Hergé's *Tim und Struppi – Les Aventures de Tintin* (1967 [1929]). Due to its background in publishing children's books, Carlsen has always traditionally targeted the book market as its main retail outlet and the company decided to employ this strategy for comics as well, selling most of their children- and teenager-focused titles, of mostly European origin, through this already-established venue (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002). Targeting booksellers as a sales venue for comics was a completely new strategy in Germany. Until Carlsen approached this market, comics had always been sold in a cheaply-produced format on low paper quality through the *press market* (Fuchs 1977:9). During this time, comics did not possess the equivalent of an ISBN (International Standard Book Number) and, just as with newspapers and magazines, the unsold copies were returned to the publisher at the end of the display period (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002).

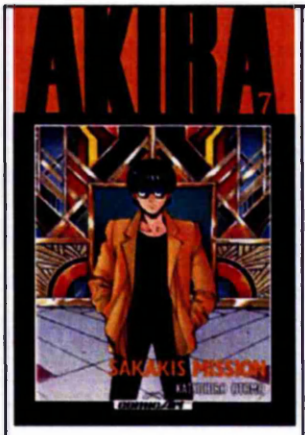
Around the mid-1970s, Carlsen started to develop labels targeting adult readers as well, yet it would not be until 1981 that they created a specific adult-targeted label with titles such as *Corto Maltese* (Pratt 1981[1970]) and *Reisende im Wind – Les Passagers du Vent* (Bourgeon 1981[1980]) (Carlsen Comics 1992:2). When Bonnier bought Carlsen in 1980, the new owner tried to broaden the distribution of Carlsen Comics to include the press market (1982-85). The *press marke*t, sometimes also referred to as *direct press market*, refers to outlets such as kiosks and newsstands which specialise in dealing with transitory print materials such as newspapers or magazines. As a result, Carlsen started to publish cheaper American pamphlet-sized comics (16.8 x 25.8 cm/6.61" x 10.16", 32 pages) as opposed to their traditional European album sized comics (21.5 x 28.5 cm/8.46" x 11.22", 48 pages). The trial phase ended when the new format did not achieve the sales figures the publisher was aiming for. Nevertheless, Carlsen held onto its links to the press market (Keiser, presentation, 2002). In total contrast, Carlsen Comics also started 'deluxe' editions, which focused on the adult market, at the same time. Like the pamphlet-sized

comics, these were modelled on an American format: the graphic novel. Unlike them, however, they proved to be successful. The first big seller, under a new sub-label *Carlsen Comics - edition comic art*, was a translation of Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns* in 1989 [1986]. By 1984, comics generated 30% of Carlsen's total revenue thanks to these new formats and an ever growing back catalogue (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002) and with forty members it boosted the highest number of in-house staff (Carlsen Comics 1992:2). This success led to a second phase targeting the direct press market in order to increase exposure in 1988, and 1990 saw Carlsen Comics' biggest overseas licence sale of German comics, focusing on the German Reunion.

Yet, at the beginning of the 1990s, the German comic industry had to cope with a massive drop in sales figures. Knigge blamed competitor Ehapa's strategy[15] of flooding the Eastern German market with old stock for very low prices for the start of the German comic industry crisis (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002). Ehapa's move undermined the German practice of fixed book prices, which only allowed faulty stock or small amounts of leftover stock to be marked down, by destroying the price segment. The amount of people working in the comic industry declined sharply over this time. The uncertainty of the market situation continued for some time and even in 1998 the book publishing arm of Carlsen basically had to help finance the comic department (Rosenbach 2001:77). Due to the financial strain, Carlsen Comics started to predominantly reissue old, well-loved classics to save the money they would have had to spend on new licences (ibid.). It was during this period of decline that Carlsen launched its first manga publication in 1991, Omoto's dystopian cyberpunk story *Akira* (1982). *Akira* was published as part of the *edition comic art* label in the form of twenty flipped and fully coloured graphic novels at the price of 26.80 DM (€13.70). While the print tableaux were bought from the US publisher Marvel, the text was directly translated from Japanese.

[15] Ehapa is the classic comic label of the Northern European multimedia conglomerate Egmont. They originally published their manga under the label Feest Comics (from 1994 onward), but switched to use EMA – Egmont Manga & Anime – in 2000 (www.manganet.de/ema.jsp)

Akira baffled the publisher to some degree, since statistics indicated that teenagers and younger readers, who were usually not taken into account with publications such as this because of the expensive price range, picked up the book in no few numbers (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). Every volume of *Akira* sold around 10,000 copies (Baer 2000:9), far more than the publisher expected. At the time, in comparison, the average sales for a Carlsen Comics title were 7,000 copies (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002).



1.3 Cover of the coloured *Akira* edition

1.4 Coloured *Akira* sample page

After *Akira*'s success, Carlsen Comics picked up a small number of very selective 'high brow' adult-targeted apocalyptic sci-fi, cyber punk and historical manga in 1995. These strongly mirrored the line-up of the American manga publisher Viz, from which Carlsen sublicensed these titles (Kaps, interview, 12 December 2003). However, they were unable to reproduce the success of *Akira* with these black and white graphic novels and a manga discussion with specialised retailers in Carlsen's offices ended with a sobering conclusion: most believed that there was no future for manga in the German market (Knigge 2003:5). [16] Part of the problem was the physical format of early German manga publications, which mirrored that of American graphic novels (16.8 x 25.8 cm/6.61" x 10.16"). While the length of the volumes was Europeanised (eighty to two hundred and sixty-four pages), with prices between 19.90 DM (€10.70) and 36 DM (€18.41), they remained too expensive for regular teenagers. In comparison, the current German manga format, which is based on the original Japanese *tankôbon,* usually sports a page count of one hundred and seventy-six to two hundred and fifty-two pages, at a cost of €5 to €6.50 respectively (personal observation 2003). This format change, made in 1997, made manga more affordable and less of a collector's item, or as Toren Smith (interviewed by Dean, online, 14

[16] *Omoto*, two volumes with short stories by the *Akira* author, had been published in 1994. From 1995 *Jiraishin* (Takahashi 1995[1992])(volumes with 120 pages each), *Kamui* (Shirato 1995[1964])(264 or 232 pages), *Xenon* (Kanzaki 1995[1987])(96 pages), *2001 Nights* (Hoshino 1995[1992]) (80 pages), *3x3 Eyes* (1997[1995]) (64 and 72 pages), *Striker* (*Spriggan*) (Takashige and Minagawa 1996 [1989]) (128 pages), *Sarah* (Omoto 1996[1990]) (96 to 112 pages), *Battle Angel Alita* (Kishiro 1996[1990]) (112 to 144pages) and *Ôkami* (Koike and Kojima 1996[1970]) (120 to 144 pages) followed (page counts, counted personally).

April 2004), founder of the manga localiser Studio Proteus (1987-2004) and a veteran in localising manga for the American market, points out, it equals the "commodification of the product" for the mass market.

Two older titles that have been published in both formats by Carlsen Comics highlight the advantages of the new format for the publisher: Kishiro's dystopian sci-fi *Battle Angel Alita* (1996[1990]) was reformatted in 2000 and Takada's gory horror adventure *3x3 Eyes* (1997[1995]) was reissued in 2002. While the first volume of *Battle Angel Alita* only sold 5000 copies over four years[17] in the old format, the new format sold over 15,000 copies in the first four months alone (Göllner 2001:8), clearly showing the wider reach of the cheaper format. While *Akira*'s successors were published in traditional black-and-white, Carlsen Comics' manga format remained entirely European. There are a lot of different issues such as format, pricing and translation surrounding the way manga are handled, which will be focused upon later in the chapters examining the internal workflow of manga publishers.

Around 1995, Carlsen established direct links to Japanese publishers, starting with Kodansha (Knigge 2003:2), followed by Shueisha in the following year (ibid.:5); 1997 saw the results of these new links in the adoption of smaller format, as close to the Japanese *tankôbon* format as German printing norms allow (11 x 17.5 cm/4.33" x 6.89"), for the translation of Toriyama's action adventure *Dragon Ball* (1997[1984]). At the artist's insistence, and after long discussions about the possible outcome of such a (for Germany) completely new strategy, the story was published in the Japanese reading direction, that is back to front and right to left (Knigge 2003:6). There were voices for and against the project, yet in the end Carlsen decided to proceed (ibid.:6). The new format was introduced at an affordable price of 9.95 DM (€5.09) and this new formula eventually became such a success that it was copied by the other German manga publishers. However, it was not just the format that changed, but also the readers. While originally older, now the majority of the new titles were aimed at boys and girls between the ages of twelve and fifteen (Kaps 2005:8).

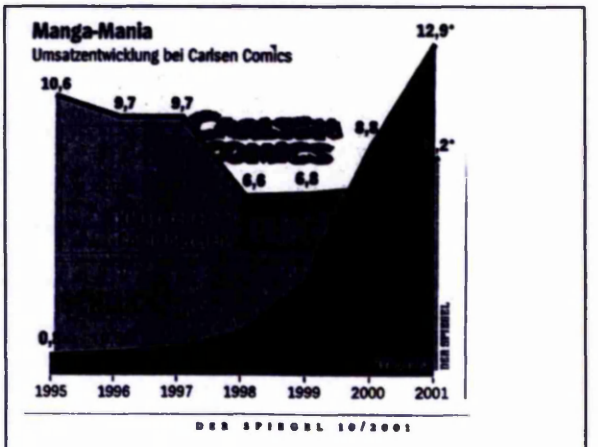
The manga in the Japanese format did not find an instant success in the German market; however, the publisher gave the title time to develop a readership. Aided by the success of the TV broadcast of the *Dragon Ball* anime (Toriyama 1986) from

[17] The first volume was published in May 1996; the reset version was published in Oct 2000.

1999 onward Toriyama's adventurous *Dragon Ball* manga became a huge success, turning *Dragon Ball* into Germany's most bought manga up to at least 2004. Yet, as mentioned, it took some time before Carlsen's *Dragon Ball* and EMA's magical girl manga *Sailor Moon* (Takeuchi 1998[1992])[18] found a bigger audience (Knigge 2003:9). Carlsen Comics did not publish another translated manga title, Gainax's *mecha* sci-fi *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (Sadamato and Gainax 1995), until 1999. In the second half of 1999, manga publications started to explode and Carlsen Comics were in the black for the first time in ten years (Recht 2000:13).

By 2000, manga made up 65% of Carlsen Comics' revenue, further highlighting this development (Strehler 2001:8). In 2000, the number of manga titles overtook for the first time the number of non-Japanese titles (Carlsen Comic Vorschau 2000). After that, Carlsen almost completely dropped American titles and they reduced their European comic publications from around ten to five volumes per month (Kaps, interview, 12 December 2003). By 2001, the number of manga titles in print had reached ten a month at Carlsen Comics alone, which meant that the company had around twenty active manga titles at all times.

Manga began to dominate Carlsen Comics and helped the company's overall sales figures at a time when most book sales were declining. In 2002, Carlsen's revenue was 300% higher than their highest ever revenue in the company's thirty year history (Pfeiffer, online, March 2004). This revenue of €18.5 million was almost 80% higher than the revenue created in 2001; 20.24 million DM (€10.35 million) of the proceeds alone were created by manga (Holowaty 2002:75). In 2001, manga had contributed 8.35 million DM (€4.27 million), already quite a rise from the 3.51 million



1.5. Carlsen Comic's revenue: development of classical comics versus manga, 1995-2001

[18] *Sailor Moon*, unlike *Dragon Ball*, was published in a flipped format. Another indicator for the fact that manga did not achieve instant success is the fact that *Sailor Moon* was originally offered to Carlsen, yet due to the fact that *Dragon Ball* at that point in time had not generated high sales figures, and that the retailers were not sure what to do with this new format, they declined. *Dragon Ball*, on the other hand, was originally offered to EMA, but they declined since there were doubts about the feasibility of printing in the Japanese reading direction (Knigge 2003:9).

DM (€1.8 million) in 1999 (Holowaty 2002:75). In 2002, during my research period, Carlsen Comics had a 55% market share in the German manga market, making them the leading publisher in the field (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002).[19]
This was surpassed in 2004 when manga were responsible for about €9.5 million out of the total Carlsen revenue of €27.1 million (Wahl, online, 13 June 2005), yet less than in 2002. While the number of titles in their back order catalogue had been rising steadily since 1967, they practically exploded as manga took off. Carlsen Comics' back order catalogue listed a hundred and thirty-three available titles in 1982. At the end of the decade, it had increased to about a hundred and sixty titles. In 2000, the back order catalogue had jumped again to one thousand and three-hundred available titles (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002).

During 2003 and 2004, the company consolidated their monthly output of new titles and they have remained at this level ever since. This decision was supposed to help create maintainable slower growth, instead of over-flooding the market with more titles than can be afforded by their juvenile readers, as happened in the early 1990s. The numbers did, however, continue to grow due to new publishers such as Heyne and Tokyopop (Germany) entering the market. Manga sales no longer rise at a hundred percent per year, as they did for a few years, but by 2005 they were still comfortably ahead of the overall growth of the German book market (Kaps 2005:2f).

As mentioned above, Carlsen Comics went through some major organisational changes in 2004. At the end of 2003, Carlsen's former publishing director had left the company due to differences in approaches to the company's future publishing outlines and structures (Waclawiczek, online, 19 December 2004). The book publishing arm of the company wanted to re-integrate the comic section into the mainframe of the publisher, both to consolidate employees in these departments, as well as to regain more control over the day-to-day decision-making process (anon, interview, July 2004). There are various arguments as to why Carlsen felt the need to regain a larger amount of control over Carlsen Comics, ranging from preparing for the possibility of less income through the comic section and having greater control over the look and content of the comic books, to different internal company policies (c.f.

[19] The second biggest manga publisher EMA held 37% and the two smaller publishers Planet Manga, with 6%, and Dino, with 2%, brought up the rear (Keiser, presentation, 05 July 2002). There were other publishers that had published small amounts of manga, yet their sales were irrelevant.

Waclawiczek, online, 19 December 2004; Pfeiffer, online, March 2004; Waclawiczek, online, 19 June 2005). That this discussion about the right approach is of great structural significance became obvious when various other Carlsen Comics employees left the company as well. The re-integration has scaled down independence and Carlsen Comics no longer has its own publishing director; this role is now filled by the directors of the book section, for both books and comics. Carlsen Comics is again, as it used to be before it became more independent in 2001, headed by an Editor-in-Chief. The marketing for both sections is now co-ordinated jointly (Waclawiczek, online, 19 June 2005). Before this restructuring took place, comic marketing had been completely independent, with the exemption of company policy and book fair planning, which were always handled in joint committees. In 2005, Carlsen Comics Editorial was separated into a comic and a manga area and distribution of all comics and children's books was consolidated (Splash Comics, online, 29 April 2005). Although faced with an increase in competition, Carlsen Comics managed to retain their market leadership with a solid 40% market share in 2007 (Lenz, online, 01 March 2008), showing that Carlsen's strategy has worked out.

1.3.2 Tokyopop

My second fieldwork period at Tokyopop (December 2002 - March 2003) took me to the company's main offices in Los Angeles, which are surrounded by other media corporations.

Tokyopop, which started out as Japan Online Inc, then was renamed Mixx Entertainment K.K., until it settled on Tokyopop as company and brand name, is not an American but a Japanese investment shareholders' company.[20] This new company started to come into being in 1996 with the aim of publishing manga, first on CD-Rom then on paper, in the USA (Arnold, online, 2000). Unlike Carlsen Comics, Mixx entered an already-existing mature comic market and a manga market, which functioned as a well developed niche of said comic market.

Unlike Germany, where the Second World War constituted a break in comic production, and a subsequent new beginning thereafter, comics have continuously been published in the USA since the 1890s. Much has changed in the industry

[20] Shareholders include the Japanese companies Softbank, Trans Cosmos, Mitsui Venture Capital, Nissho Inter Life, Nippon Venture Capital, Tekinvest K.K., Impress Group and Rentrak (www.tokyopop.com)

between the birth hour of the *funny* or *yellow journalism*[21] in New York's newspapers (Wigand 1986:28) and today's specialised comic publishers. While smaller publishers have come and gone, the market has continuously been dominated by two large comic publishers since after the Second World War: DC Comics and Marvel. Both publishers, along with independent publishers like Dark Horse, Slave Labor or Oni Press, exemplify one of the biggest differences between the German and American comic market: while German publishers have mostly translated comics from other territories over the last sixty years,[22] American publisher have focused on publishing original content. The changes that occurred in the market for a long time mostly concerned formats (pamphlet vs. graphic novels) and distribution venues (specialty shops vs. news outlets).[23] It was not until manga became popular that translated works sold in high enough numbers to be seen as a stepping stone for a whole new industry. From the 1980s onwards, there were some new companies arising who established localisation of existing Japanese materials as a niche in the American market. In terms of manga, this development can, in a large part, be credited to the San Francisco-based manga publisher Viz, a subsidiary of the Japanese publishers Shogakukan and Shueisha, and the manga packager Studio Proteus (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004). *Lone Wolf and Cub* (Koike and Kojima 1970) became America's first bestselling manga, with 100,000 pamphlet-sized copies being sold every month in 1987 (Thompson 2007:5). However, much like in Germany, manga did not take the market by storm in their first attempt. Instead, the USA saw their own home-made comic book crisis in the mid-1990s, which also affected manga publishers in a negative way (ibid.:5). Buyers had started to speculate on a value increase of pamphlet-sized, first-print run volumes of first issues of debuting series and had begun to hoard them in hope of future gains. Comic publishers, encouraged due to the high pre-orders of first volumes, increased overall print run numbers of the series concerned, which left them with massive returns for the succeeding issues. It was in the aftermath of this crisis that the economic entity that would become Tokyopop entered the market.

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[21] *Yellow journalism* takes its name from the yellowish colour of the paper on which popular newspapers were printed (Wigand 1986:28).

[22] In 1978, 90% of comics published in Germany were licensed material (Krafft 1978:10)

[23] For an in-depth analysis of development of the Anglophone comic industry refer to Barker (1989), McCloud (1994), Nyberg (1998) and Sabin (1996).

Right from the start, the company had one office in the USA and one in Japan, which remains the case today. The new company was founded with the aid of the University of Southern California Annenberg Incubator Project, which provides new entrepreneurial companies with know-how and financial backing (Levy, interview, 07 February 2003). Aside from its manga publications, Mixx Entertainment K.K. produced other media products as well; these products have varied over the development of the company. They basically range from magazines, through manga to videos and DVDs, as well as music, novels, guide books, cine-manga, to sub-licensing of rights to TV stations, merchandise, card game and video game producers (Tokyopop 19 February 2002). Lately, they have also been involved with projects that aim at live action TV and film adaptations of manga materials.

Their initial publication, *Mixx-Zine*, was the first bi-monthly broad reader-based, Japanese-formatted manga anthology to be published in America (Arnold, online, 2000). To accommodate Western readers, the stories were flipped so as to be read in the Western reading direction. The leading series was *Sailor Moon*, which had helped to start the manga renaissance in Europe. The second *shôjo* story, the magical girl adventure *Magic Knight Rayearth* (Clamp 1997[1993]), was from the fan-favourite all-women manga-team Clamp; these two stories were accompanied by two more adult-focused bleaker *shônen* stories *Ice Blade* (Takahashi 1997[1992]) and *Parasyte* (Iwaaki 1997[1990]). This combination of four very differently targeted stories appealed to a broader base of readers and therefore made feasible the publication of the *Mixx-Zine* magazine due to higher sales figures.
The first direct-to-market volume of the new magazines was published in May 1997, around the same time that the broadcasting of the *Sailor Moon* anime was revived on the television station USA Network (Arnold, online, 2000). The magazine, like most new formats, changed over the next few volumes, both due to reader polls and American comic industry requirements.

It was June 1998 when Mixx published its first pocket-sized manga: *Magic Knight Rayearth* featuring the previously published chapters from *Mixx-Zine*. This is a policy which is usually used in Japan, with the popular stories carried in magazines; a strategy that American publishers started to follow as well when they introduced the graphic novel. The price of this new, over 200 pages long, format was placed at

$11.99 (€9.60) a rather low price for graphic novels back then. That same year they adapted Viz's and Dark Horse's strategy and started to break down the Japanese *tankôbon* to publish them in the classical American pamphlet-sized format, next to the pocket-sized collected volumes which would appear later on (Levy, interview, 07 February 2003). Mixx also announced the development of a new second magazine *Smile*, targeting the teenage girl market with a mix of fun technologies and classical girl topics such as music, film and pop culture (Arnold, online, 2000). Later in 1998, *Sailor Moon* moved to the new magazine for various reasons, including pressure from parents over the close proximity of violent content to their children's favourite stories (ibid.). The influence of parenting and watchdog groups on the shape of the American comic book industry and, therefore, also manga publication, is much stronger than in Europe and is always present, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Seven. This early discontent foreshadowed the development that later on would lead to age ratings being placed on American manga *tankôbon*.

Mixx-Zine also tended pretty early on to draw rather heated discussions from various *otaku*[24] groupings in the USA due to all the changes it went through (Arnold, online, 2000). These constant changes started to fulfil a cathartic function for hardcore fans, bringing all the different issues they generally had been displeased with regarding manga to the forefront at the same time.[25] Their opinions included every possible argument and position on various subjects (quality of the translations, prices, format etc.) and even found, later on in the case of some of the more organised groups, an echo in the European anime and manga press (Arnold, online, 2000). Internet groups started to feature prominently in these controversies over the next year, highlighting the vastly internet-based structure of the fandom. These kinds of developments can be found worldwide throughout the manga fan community on a regular basis due to the highly vocal disposition of the core fan groups (Kitabayashi 2004:5). It is important to note that, much of the time, part of these 'fights' have more to do with reaffirming internal fandom hierarchies than with the producers themselves (Tankel and Murphy 1998:62; MacDonald 1998:136ff). Mixx, at the same time, pulled their

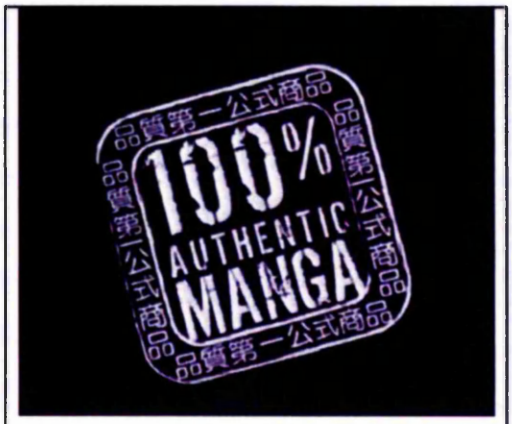
[24] *Otaku* is a derogatory term in Japanese referring to hard-core fans of everything from anime to stars to railroads (c.f. Kinsella 1998; Schodt 1996; Thorn 2004). While the term has predominantly negative connotations in Japan, I have over the years often observed it being used with pride in some Western countries.
[25] Various organisations such as the 'SOS- Save our Scouts' (*Sailor Moon*-related) and the American Clamp fan club, as well as a growing group of individuals, became very active in their opposition to the company (ANIMEfringe, online, June 2000), for further information please refer to: www.animefringe.com/magazine/00.06/feature/1/index2.php3

message board, furthering speculation. All of these developments led to a sometimes uneasy relationship with the hardcore fans (Arnold, online, 2000).[26] Message boards of manga publishers, which were hosted on their own web domain, have suffered problems through spamming and hacking attacks both in the USA and Germany (Verdini, interview, 22 March 2003; Levy, interview, 07 February 2003). Mixx was not the only company under attack by fans in 1998; the whole American manga and anime industry found itself under fire from its consumers. It was in the midst of this period that *Smile* magazine found its way to the shelves and started to evolve from a girl magazine (December 1998) into a *shôjo* manga anthology (May 2000) (Arnold, online, 2000).

1.6 The iconic robofish appeared for the first time on the newly formed webpage in 1998

At the end of 1998, the name Tokyopop made its first appearance, with the launch of Mixx's e-commerce division. The site's name, www.Tokyopop.com, would soon replace the old title *Mixx-Zine* (August/September 1999) as the magazine went monthly, and would start to appear on all publications. In 1999, Mixx briefly tested the waters with two American-produced *Pseudo Manga* (Arnold, online, 2000). This practice was revived in 2003 during my research placement on a much larger scale after the success of the first *Rising Stars of Manga* competition. The issue of home-grown talent will be looked at in more detail in Chapter Six.

[26] The web campaign 'Eye on Mixx' came into existence, their first layout, using a swastika, resulted in Tripod taking the site down (Arnold, online, 2000).



1.7 The '100% AUTHENTIC MANGA' label is found on the back of every unflipped Tokyopop *tankôbon*.

In 2002, Tokyopop would yet again switch formats and Tokyopop became firmly established as their brand name. Their '100% authentic manga' label, which mirrors the Japanese *tankôbon* publications, would, two years later, become the industry standard. Still the American *tankôbon* format is slightly bigger than the typical Japanese format (5.04" x 6.89"/12.8 x 17.5 cm), since it mirrors the Korean *manwha* size (5" x 7.7/16"/12.7 x 18.8 cm) rather than the Japanese standard manga size. The other American manga publishers followed suit in late spring 2003 and the American pamphlet-sized manga publications have since ceased to exist.

At the same time, in time for the 2003 London Book Fair, Tokyopop officially established its UK operation through the distribution service Red Route. At the beginning of 2004, they switched to directly employing a Retail Sales Director for the UK instead of using an intermediary (Tokyopop 07 January 2004).

Much as with their magazines, the Tokyopop staff has changed frequently, especially when compared with the typical European standard. This however seems to be typical in a media-orientated American city such as Los Angeles, where I was told by various members of Tokyopop's staff that people seem to try new things all the time. At the point in time of my placement, their Los Angeles office had between forty-two and forty-six part- and full-time in-house employees. As with Carlsen Comics, the growing media output led to an increase in the number of employees. By the end of 2004, Tokyopop's three and a half offices (Japan, England, Germany and USA)[27] employed a total of eighty-six permanent staff members (Boorstin, online, 01 June 2004). While the Los Angeles office ended its major growth spurt in summer 2004, the new increases happened overseas in their Japan office, through which they plan to sell their own products to the Japanese market in the future and facilitate the acquisition of licenses (bid.). The other major growth spurt occurred with the establishment of a German office in the spring of 2004, which started publishing

[27] The UK sales representative joked that, since he was on the road most of the time, his office needs were, at the beginning, restricted to his computer and phone at home (McGuirk, interview, 24 July 2004).

books at the end of the same year and had grown to eighteen in-house staff members at the end of 2005.

My fieldwork took place right after the company had finished its transition to their, slightly larger than the German and Japanese, *tankôbon* format (5" x 7 7/16"/12.7 x 18.8cm). While older titles were still being published in a slightly smaller flipped pocket format (4.33" x 6.69"/11 x 17cm), magazines and pamphlet-sized comics had been discontinued. The new line of *cine-manga*[28] was in the process of being developed and the company was growing rapidly in size and employees. I visited the Tokyopop offices in both the summer of 2003 and 2004 and the company kept growing, adding new departments and becoming more versatile. I also worked at the first Tokyopop booth at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2003; by the following year, Tokyopop had opened its own German subsidiary and the books presented in Frankfurt were no longer in English, but in German. Overall, Tokyopop grew tremendously during the first years of the twenty-first century, their revenue more than doubled for three years in a row (2000-2003).

In 2004, the company had around eight hundred graphic novels in print (ICv2, online, 27 September 2004),[29] highlighting the speed at which the American manga market was growing. While 2001 saw a revenue of about $7 million (€7.8 million), in 2002 the revenue jumped to around $16 million (€16.9million) (Rowen 2003:C4) and the following year it reached an estimated $35 million (€30.9 million) (Jarvis, online, 26 October 2003).[30] In 2005, their revenue reached $50 million (€40.2million) (Masters 2006:1) As Carlsen had done earlier, Tokyopop planned to stall any increases of titles being produced on a monthly basis. Instead they aimed to diversify their output further, with regards to origin, genre and target age (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005). The number of returns being back-channelled to the company had increased (MacDonald 2003:25) alongside higher print run numbers, thus enabling the company to redistribute the titles more easily. In 2008, due to the increased competition and the worsening retail environment, partially caused by the financial

[28] *Cine-manga*, originally referred to as *ani-manga* such as the German *Sailor Moon* magazine, are constructed by taking screen shots of anime, or in the case of cine-manga live-action films as well, and placing them in a narrative flow supplemented by speech bubbles. The practice as such is rather old and was already popular in the 1980s.

[29] By comparison, DC had 700 and Dark Horse 575 graphic novels in print (ICv2, online, 27 September 2004), the only company with more active titles in 2004 was Viz with 900 titles (ICv2, online, 01 October 2004).

[30] "The Nihon Sangyou Shimbun (published by Nikkei) states that Tokyopop's estimated sales for fiscal 2003 was 7 billion yen (US$68 million) (€60 million), the Nihon Keizai Shimbun adds that the company's balance has been in the black since 2002" (Anime News Network, online, 13 January 2005).

crisis and subsequent bankruptcy of major manga retail outlets, led Tokyopop to cut their output in the last two quarters by 50% and to scale back their releases for 2009 (ICv2, online, 03 June 2008; ICv2, online, 08 June 2008; The Bookseller, online, 12 June 2008).

As has become apparent, both publishers in question are engaged in the practice of localisation, as the media industry-based transformation of foreign media products for a local market is termed (Mazur 2007:338). While originally the word was mostly employed for print and audio-visual media, it has, since the 1990s, expanded to include software localisation, as this has become a predominant financial contributor (ibid.:340). Localisation has, however, much like translation, more than one meaning. It is used to describe actual changes made to the foreign medium in order to make it more appealing to a local audience in terms of format and content, as Cooper-Chen beautifully highlights with regards to game shows (1994, 2005) and as Allison discusses with regards to the American adaptation of *Power Rangers* (2000a, b). It is also, however, used to describe the industry itself as a form of transference production (e.g. Mazur 2007). It is argued that the first is sometimes part of the second, but is not necessarily a given; therefore, this thesis will employ the term when talking about the industrial definition while researching the practice itself. One question that might be asked of localisation, is how best to study the process?

1.4 How to Research Production?

The organisational production approach chosen to research localisation and branding is not without its challenges. To gain first hand knowledge of the production of manga localisations, I interned with one German (Carlsen Comics, July - August 2002) and one American (Tokyopop, December 2002 - March 2003) manga publisher, making both publishers my main organisational reference points. At Carlsen Comics, I was placed within the Editorial Department and at Tokyopop within the Production Department. As a researcher who worked within a company structure, I had to respect confidentiality agreements, and I found during fieldwork that certain issues were taboo. Because of this, in some cases, the arguments and/or the way information was attributed requires that I present empirical data in a broader,

aggregated or more theoretical manner than would be preferable. I use empirical data collected on the other publishers within these two territories to further my insights. I did this by conducting in-depth interviews with eleven out of the nineteen publishers active in one of the territories during 2001 to 2004 and by visiting two further sites of production. The importance of data collected after my fieldwork period must also be stressed. Yet, as many anthropologists have argued, continued access granted to further information beyond the time of the fieldwork placement is, as much as the original access, determined by gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are key to any research, since they determine access to the type of relevant organisation-related information a researcher needs to acquire (c.f. Bryman 1988:14ff; Buchanan *et al.* 1988: 56ff; Gellner and Hirsch 2001:5f).

As mentioned, relatively little has been written academically on manga publishing in Western languages, yet what information some of the few available works offer in relation to manga in general and specifically manga in translation should be considered. When it comes to Japanese manga and anime, the data available for Europe is extremely limited (Berndt 1995; Gravett 2004; Jüngst 2004, 2006; Phillips 1996; Sabin 1996); the overwhelming majority of the few existing studies have been conducted by American scholars in an American context (c.f. Allison 2000a, b; Imamura 1960; Levi 1999; Newitz 1994; Schodt 1996, 1997; Shiokawa 1999). These studies, insofar as they are dealing with consumers, are usually seen as universally applicable to all 'Western' countries. This is inappropriate, due to the fact that the European and American experiences with foreign languages (Crawford 2000:21, 27f), foreign travel and foreign media products (Gentikow 1993:221) are quite different, and that inside Europe a multitude of different comics traditions exist.

To recap: media production and, therefore, manga localisation is a group effort that is structured in an organisational context. Still considering this wider academic background, it becomes apparent that past works on popular culture have predominantly remained theoretical (c.f. genre, text) or audience-focused (c.f. reading, appropriation, bricolage). Very few have dealt with any sort of production-related issues and, if so, they normally took production for a fact rather than a process or have focused on fan production as a form of self-expression (c.f. Bacon-Smith 1992; Jenkins 1992). Yet, it is within the process of production that the final form of the popular medium takes shape. However, on the whole, the amount of

research done on sites of media production is relatively slim (see, however, Kinsella 2000; Levine 2001; Lutz and Collins 1993; Powdermaker 1951; Silverstone 1985), with the exception of news production (c.f. Cottle 2003; Sahay 2006; Tunstall 1996; Turow 1984). However, these works offer more varied approaches to dealing with the complexities of production than comic-related studies and they will be referred to as necessary. I also tried to monitor all media reports on manga through a variety of primary and secondary sources, ranging from fan-made information centred web sites and forums to trade magazines in order to see how both publishers presented themselves and how successful they were in conveying that image.

The main focus of this thesis is thus to strives to fill part of this void by addressing the process of production, and consequently, the process of shaping the product, in order to gain a full understanding of translated manga's make-up. Are the decisions made during the process of translation and re-production really as straightforward and single-sidely determined by one person as many fans used to fan productions imagine?

Choosing two companies, which not only exemplified their region's predominant organisational approach to manga localisation at the time, but also dominated the market, was the first step taken in order to gauge the difference between culturally-determined and practical, production-driven decisions. My in-depth fieldwork experiences were than juxtaposed by the data gathered through visiting further sites of production and the interviews conducted with other publishers. Only through comparison was it possible to gain a clearer understanding of all the different tasks which construct the workflow and to contrast them with universal issues such as a tight production schedule. Manga publishing has much in common with magazine publishing or the production of a TV series when it comes to e.g. deadlines, the high amount of differently specialised people working on aspects of the project and the serialised character of the storylines. My approach, which stressed participant observation, therefore allowed me to really experience the difference between conscious choices, deadline-related practicalities, oversights and production-related accidents such as misprints or shipping delays.

I conducted my fieldwork mainly through a number of ethnographic field studies within both the publishers and I accompanied publishers at events where they

present themselves to the public[31] (August 2002-October 2003); both of my primary fieldwork units covered all aspects of a manga production cycle, due to the monthly and bi-monthly publication rhythm of both publishers. I also attended trade fairs and fan conventions, either with a publisher or as a visitor. Furthermore, as noted above, I kept in email contact with various key decision makers and manga experts throughout my research. My tasks during fieldwork varied from smaller translation tasks, background research and dispersing consumer information at fairs, to writing editorials, answering fan letters, proofreading and basic secretarial duties. The opportunity to actively participate in every step of the production cycle came at the cost of my tasks, interfering with attending meetings or at times taking me away from the site of production. However, it also made sure that I became far more aware of the interconnectedness of the processes that took place.

In contrast to ethnographic fieldwork in small settings, I was working within a company environment. Thus my presence was not uncontested. I was more than once confronted by employees asking me to account for my position and the ethics involving the use of the information obtained during my fieldwork. This reflects similar experiences by anthropologists working inside organisations (Bryman 1988:14ff; Buchanan *et al.* 1988: 56ff; Gellner and Hirsch 2001:5f). In such settings it is to be expected that I had to re-negotiate my access again and again. Some organisations do not grant access to scholars at all and I found that some American manga publishers did not wish to share information with a researcher. This reflects what Chapman (2001:31) has also pointed out for his research: people who work inside companies are very aware of people observing and evaluating them, and furthermore, they will read what is written about them. The workplace here represents itself as a space where control over individual self-image and the brand image of the company is seen as vital in order to ensure a future livelihood. This extends to controlling the information that filters outside, in an effort to secure the company's image (Moeran 1996:36). To cooperate with such company restraints, I have tried to verify direct quotations and factual quotations within the thesis with the people who

[31] Listing of fan and trade events attended as part of my research: *AnimagiC*, Koblenz 2005 (29-31 July) and Bonn 2006 (28-30 July) and 2007 (27-29 July); *ComicCon International*, San Diego 2003 (16-20 July) and 2004 (21-25 July); *Connichi*, Kassel 2003 (06-08 September), 2005 (16-18 September), 2006 (15-17 September) and 2007 (07-09 September); *Frankfurt Bookfair* 2003 (07-12 October); *International Manga & Anime Festival*, London 2004 (16-19 December); *Japan Expo*, London 2007 (21-22 July) *Japan Tag*, Düsseldorf 2001 (19 May) and 2003 (17 May); *Leipzig Bookfair* 2003 (20-23 March) and 2007 (23-25 March) and *London Expo* 2005 (14 May), 2006 (28 October) and 2007 (26 May)

gave them wherever possible. If anyone felt that I had misunderstood them, I asked for clarifications and amended the quotation. If a person did not wish for me to use the information, I asked if I could attribute it anonymously and if that did not satisfy them, I either dropped it or settled on a vaguer description. However, some informants had moved on and were no longer available, in which case I took the liberty of proceeding. I also sent the full body of the first pre-viva thesis to the publishers who were kind enough to cooperate with my research. There were further impacts on access to information deemed too confidential and I have kept this in mind as I have reworked the material.

In order to gain a basic understanding of the kind of people working for manga companies as employees or freelancers, I handed or sent out a total of ninety-six general questionnaires[32] asking for mostly demographic data and their experience with the media comics and manga. Three different sets of questionnaires were constructed: one for full- and part-time in-house employees, one for freelance translators and one for both employed and freelancing re-writers.[33] I received seventy-nine completed questionnaires, of which sixty-nine were viable. I placed my additional open interviews with employees of the publishers' different departments (Carlsen Comics: ten; Tokyopop: thirteen) at the end of or after my fieldwork in order to be able to incorporate knowledge and newly acquired experience into the questions. In some cases, I followed up the original interviews with email interviews in the years to come. I also interviewed an additional twenty-one employees of eleven other publishers,[34] as well as a further thirteen freelancers.[35] Altogether, I interviewed fifty-seven people who work or worked for different manga publishers in the American and German market.[36] The interviews with German companies were conducted in German in order to make sure that the interviewees could answer without feeling restricted by the use of a foreign language. I also visited the premises of two further publishers to gain a better understanding of their office set-ups.

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[32] Refer to Appendix C

[33] They included questions on age, language skills, educational and job-related training, and personal experiences with comics/manga. The translator/re-writer ones mostly focused on demographic data, and language skills, work-related time frames and personal decision-making processes.

[34] These publishers were actively publishing manga at least some time between 2001 and 2006.

[35] Seven translators, four re-writers (I also interviewed two permanent ones that are listed under publisher interviews) and two graphic designers

[36] For a listing of publishers active during my research period please refer to Appendix A.

As with all other studies based on such a fast changing media carrier, the findings constitute a freeze-frame picture of the situation in the market as it presented itself at the end of 2005. My research also showed that it is not possible to cover all areas involved in the business of localisation to the same extent. To gain in-depth information about the process of licence negotiation, for example, is almost impossible. As Levy (interview, 15 July 2003) pointed out, in the increasingly competitive manga licensing market, the skills needed to successfully gain a licence are the best-kept trade secrets of the companies already-involved, since they are the access requirement for setting up a business for localising manga. Therefore, this subject will only be touched upon briefly. This particular issue also reflects the restrictions the commercial and organisational nature of my object of research imposed on the project right from the start. While I was privy to a vast amount of information on various issues, this information is confidential and needed in more than one instance to be cleared with the publishers and individuals beforehand. I also had to reflect on my own duality as both a researcher and a person actively involved in production. This was important, so that I would not in the end view my own personal experience to be the norm, but rather use it as a guideline to reflect upon production of manga in general.

1.5 Where are we going?

As this introduction already showed, there are internal and external factors shaping the localisation of manga. Thus, in order to answer the main question, as to whether the artistic expression of the medium of manga gets lost somewhere during its organisational localisation, this thesis is divided into three parts. The first part, consisting of this chapter and Chapter Two, will first take a look at the place of translation studies with regards to commercial translation, organisational theory and the concept of branding an organisation, as well as reflecting on the usefulness of the various theoretical approaches of my own research. This will be followed by a chapter that will take a closer look at how the publishers are structured and the subsequent influence of that on the organisation of production. The third part begins with Chapter Four and ends with Chapter Six. These three chapters will familiarise the reader with the workflow, each focusing on different stages of the localisation. Chapter Four will acquaint the reader with the steps that see different components of

manga as unrelated parts that are worked on out of context by specialists, focusing either exclusively on text or image. Chapter Five, by comparison, will focus on those employees who determine and shape the context in which both the physical product and the branded image reside. Chapter Six will shift from the creation of context to the selling of the localised manga, both through the actual physical sale of the product and the sale of the brand surrounding it via marketing.

The last part, consisting of Chapter Seven will take a closer look at company external stakeholders that influence the localisation within the publisher. It focuses both on rules and regulations the publisher has to adhere to, both in terms of governmental laws such as those that curtail speech, and contractual agreements such as licenses and on social institutions such as pressure groups and audiences, and their influence on the shape of the product. The following Conclusion will contextualise the different aspects of physical production and those of meaning in order to highlight the polysemic facets touched upon and employed during the localisation process.

Chapter 2
Publishers as Branded Organisations

As the Introduction established, the main objective of this thesis is to research what takes place during manga's localisation process in two different publishing organisations. It will consider how the processes of localisation and the subsequent branding shape both product and affect the organisational set up itself. A German publisher, Carlsen Comics, and an American publisher, Tokyopop, were chosen in order to highlight the differences between localisators of the same medium in two territories. To achieve this goal, the different aspects employed in the creative production of the medium and the extra medium-external meaning encoded in it through branding will be analysed to make a case. However, before taking a look at the actual workflow within the two publishers in question, it is necessary to reflect on what kind of organisations modern branded localising publishers such as these are. Many scholars have reflected on issues of translation, organisation and branding over the years, yet how helpful are their insights with regards to the subject at hand, given that none of them have dealt in-depth with companies that specialise in the localisation of media, other than advertising?

In order to gain a better understanding of how my research into this purposefully constructed co-existence of physical production and production of meaning in an organisational context functions, this chapter will consider the facets that define these types of localiser in three stages. Firstly, it will focus on translation, the predominant tool employed by the publishers in the localisation of foreign media. There are different schools of scholarly thought with regards to translation and section one of this chapter will set out to determine which of these are the most useful concerning the organisational reality that will be described in more detail in Chapter Four. These theories differ in what constitutes a translation and whether the focus is on the translation, the translator or the cultural implications. For the purpose of this thesis, translation will be defined in terms of what Umberto Eco classifies as "translation proper", meaning the transference of a text "from one natural language into another" respecting and faithfully reflecting what the original author has written (2004:2f). It was decided to define the verb this way because it best reflects the actual work being

carried out by the translators involved in the commercial translation processes of manga, as ordered and paid for by the organisations.

Which brings this thesis to its second focus: publishers are not simply one person engaging in an act such as translation, they are organisations staffed by many people devoted to the same goal: to publish manga. This chapter will therefore take a look at how organisations[37] have been discussed in anthropological and sociological literature. By reflecting on organisational theory I aim to gain insight and understand how the different publishing departments, mentioned in the Introduction, fit into the publishers' structures, hierarchies, institutionalised workflows and relationship networks that shape and frame the (re)production of the media products they publish. Thus, focusing on the literature devoted to organisations will give some insight into how these structures, which are engaged in a socially framed, organised complex process of media production, function (Croteau and Hoyes 1997:33).

Finally Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop can both be categorised as economic organisations[38] that produce a physical product (manga) which they sell and market to the public under their brand label. Like every other trade, they are, therefore, governed by the dogmatic four P's (product, price, promotion and placement) of marketing (Grönroos 1994:5). They produce manga (a product) that they place at sales points (placement). These manga have a fixed price attached to them (price) and they are marketed by the company through marketing and advertising (promotion). The companies have also chosen to market themselves through their interaction with their environments via a "fifth P, the personality of the organization, or its people" (Thomas, quoted in Webster 2003:1). This personality, unlike the organisational structure, is unique to each publisher and, on the public relations level, is one of the company's biggest assets. How does this practice of branding on one hand restrict the avenues available to the organisations, and on the other, what new possibilities are opened up through the process? This question will be considered in the last part of this chapter and further in Chapter Six of this thesis.

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[37] The term organisation derives from the Greek word *organom*, which connotes an instrument or a tool (Morgan 2006:13).

[38] Next to the economic organisations discussed here, there are many different forms of organisation such as religious organisations (churches, cults), knowledge-based organisations (research institutes, universities) or political organisations (parties).

2.1 On Translation

Translation is the first vital step of any media localisation, as defined in the Introduction. To that end, a text or a script in the original language is handed to a translator. This text-only document is then translated into the target language. Some translators refer back to the visual medium of which the text is part for creative inspiration or clues to the right choices in polysemic situations. While these translators have to pay attention to the space available for the print or verbalisation of the text, their first given priority is a faithful rendering of the textual components. Editorial choices are, for the most part, made later by other departments.

Conventional views of translation perceive the two languages involved as two sign systems that are "systematic wholes, and that translation is to establish a bridge for the exchange of equal values between the two wholes" (Sakai 1997:50). The reality is far more complicated due to the fact that no two languages are completely parallel (Eco 2003:32ff). It is therefore not surprising that the works written on translation normally fall into different categories as well: translation theories (e.g. Gentzler 1993; Nida 2001; Savory 1957; Steiner 1975), cultural translation (e.g. Bachmann-Medick 1997; Hatim and Mason 1997; Kelly and Johnston 2007; Liu 1999; Sabucco 2003; Steiner 1975; Wang 2004) and technical books, which are meant to help translators in training (e.g. Baker 1992; Newmark 1988; Raffel 1971). All these three areas cover vastly different approaches and are governed by different agendas; thus, the theorizing rarely attempts to connect two or more of the areas in question. The reality of what takes place when translators engage in the practice of translation in a practical/real rather than ideal/imaginary space is as much separated from the research into the motivations of the translator as it is from the philosophical musings on language.[39] In order to see which of the schools of thought or aspects thereof are useful in understanding the work of the publishers researched, this section will reflect on what the different approaches to translation have to offer to a theory about the business of translation.

[39] This gap between ideal and practice exists in many fields outside book publishing and is linked to the ideological construction of a given subject. Both the mystified history or theory and the everyday practice exist next to each other without infringing on each other (e.g. Martinez 1992). The only difference here is the highly verbalised acknowledgement of the two different strands.

2.1.1 Translation Theory

As Theodore Savory (1957:48f) pointed out, no 'universal' agreement on translation principles exists due to the fact that the experts in the field are unable to resolve the contradictions between their views. Hatim and Mason collected the most common contradicting priorities in pairs; they range from:

> 'literal' versus 'free',
> 'form' versus 'content',
> 'formal' versus 'dynamic equivalence',
> 'semantic' versus 'communicative translating'
> translator 'visibility' versus 'invisibility'
> (Hatim and Mason 1997:1)

These pairs highlight the broader fields in which translators might disagree, areas readers might criticise and theorists' tendency towards what John Hartley calls 'biniarisms' (1996:28). Within these different sub-groups, there are again diverse viewpoints. As shall be seen, even translators who generally prefer one style of translation over the other break the rules by which they work occasionally in order to arrive at what they deem to be the most appropriate translation.

Translation also "transplants the original into a more definite linguistic realm since it can no longer be displaced by a secondary rendering" (Benjamin 1973:76); in other words, a translation always steers a text into the direction of one particular interpretation due to the translator's reading and understanding of the text. Umberto Eco argues that "[t]his means that a translation is... the result of a conjecture or of a series of conjectures. Once the most reasonable conjecture has been made, the translators should make their linguistic decision accordingly" (2004:20). The presumed polysemy of the source text, of course, also opens up new possibilities of differentiating interpretations. These new possible 'readings' are based on the chosen interpretation of the translator, but are also partially due to the inherent concepts and allusions many words carry in a specific language, but not another. Eco (2004:32f) highlights this by graphically explaining the different meanings 'mouse' and 'rat' can take in different European languages, from being designated by the same word, through being highly differentiated, to being seen as an insult in some

cultures, but not others. Yet, even when literally translating, as Eco's example shows, these kinds of losses of subtle meaning are not avoidable.

Also, many readers completely forget that the dialogue between reader and text is, in itself, not static but, even if left un-translated, the possible interpretations of the text will change with time (Sontag, lecture, 23 September 2002). The further the text moves away from the original literal text, and this generally occurs through choices made by editors and re-writers, the less authentic it is seen to be by purists. As Walter Benjamin (1973:71) points out, there is no way around this since a translator is always and foremost a reader. A translator can obviously only translate what he reads. Eco seconds this view (2004:20). A translator is a subject; therefore, a translation always is, at the end of the day, a subjective representation of their choices. It is this subjectiveness which makes a well-executed translation interesting in itself and can turn the text into another distinct piece of art (Benjamin 1973:74; Newmark 1988:189). Of course, it also means that, just as in the case of the original, the translation is judged by the personal tastes of the readers, who might decide that the style of the translation does not suit them, just as the style of the original might not have pleased other readers. On the whole the focus of most works written on translation shows a clear shift "from 'the form of the message' to the 'response of the receptor'" (Nida and Taber 1969:1).

Translation scholars recognise that, in practice, the translators disregard and break the 'rules of translation' consistently (Nida 2001:1). They are aware that the academic discourse of translation is completely removed from the practical field. For example, one of the rules theorists support states that a translator should always only translate from a foreign language into his mother-tongue in order to maximise the result (Savory 1957:35). According to this rule, the knowledge a good translator should have of source and target language are distinctively different. "His knowledge of the foreign language must be critical, while that of his own must be practical" (ibid.:35).

2.1.2 Cultural Translation

All sorts of media products, from cave paintings to modern SMS messages, have played an important role both as representations and in the preservation of specific cultural expressions and customs. From simple facts, such as the food being consumed or idioms used to describe certain facts of life, to more complex issues such as belief structures or ceremonies concerning the structuring of life and death, all can be found preserved within stories, pictures and, more recently, sounds and moving images. These media are what make both ancient and foreign cultures accessible (Bachmann-Medick 1997:7): they freeze part of that culture in space and time and, therefore, give their users, both within their own culture and the user of a translation outside their culture, the possibility of dealing with this particular cultural representation in their own time and space. John Ellis argues (1992:282) that the localiser consequently functions in all areas as a 'gatekeeper'.[40] In other words, even if the reader is not actively aware of it, he trusts the localiser to present him with an appropriate rendering. This unintentionally gives the localiser power over the text with regards to achieving his agenda (e.g. Faiq 2007; Gibson 2007; Sengupta 1995). In terms of translators, cultural translation theorists accordingly see a link to the target language as a weakness, since it introduces the translator's own culture as a variable into the text (Gibson 2007:44). This line of argument postulates that a native speaker who understands and lives in the source culture is therefore the more qualified to render it in translation (Faiq 2007:214).

Such theorists postulate that, while translation does allow readers and viewers access to texts and programmes that would have been otherwise out of their reach, it also regulates the kind of media, the form of the text and the range of content available (e.g. Kelly 2007). Who gets to use these representations, however, is as much a question as the 'who' and 'how' of the translation. The power of the 'right kind' of language, be it High-German or the Queen's English, was linked by Bourdieu (1984:6 and 109f) to the maintenance of the power structures of the upper classes. Language here is still used as a means of creating distinctions between different groups of people, in the modern class system, much in the same way as during the Middle Ages, when it created distinctions between the pan-European gentry and local

[40] Ellis (1992) only attributes this function to television broadcasting; still the theory is transferable to all media translations.

lower classes. The notion of cultural translation, as it emerged from post-colonial and Orientalism discourses (Faiq 2007:210), argues that the former colonial powers still exert power over their former colonies via language and translation; they have moulded the discourses that the former colonies are stuck with, both in terms of how the represent themselves and how they are represented (Liu 1999:3). Or, as Faiq describes it, it is the "treatment of translation from an ideological point of view in terms of power relations, identity formation, self and other refers mainly to the Western European and American hegemonic consideration of all other cultures" (2007:210). Sontag referred to this as the "linguistic privilege" automatically assigned to the lingua franca which creates marginality for expressions not included within (lecture, 23 September 2002). The only way to escape these notions and achieve the perfect translation in the eyes of people ascribing to this school of thought is aiming at a utopian nowhere (Kelly 2007:13). Within the realm of cultural translation especially, the discourse is that a translator, wittingly or unwittingly, invests the text, with political, philosophical and/or moral intents, thus always imprinting the translated text with an extra message (e.g. Gibson 2007). As will be seen in Chapters Four and Seven, with regards to Western renderings of manga, this encoded message can change over time, both in terms of content and motivation. With the number of manga increasing, the number of manipulations of the text have both increased and decreased in different ways. This fact is not surprising, since these changes are reflective of a society's familiarity with a foreign culture and its media products (Mullan 1997:6).

However, the prevalent underlying current of post-colonial and imperialistic theorising, especially with regards to the English language (Chen 1998:5), in relation to every type of non-Western, and sometimes even Western (e.g. Gibson 2007), language being translated is rather diverting, since it automatically always establishes either an exoticised or top-down politicised view of localisation. While the field has recently been expanding beyond this notion of post-colonial and imperialistic conceptions, it is still infused by notions of power relations, as Gibson's list of 'four typical choices translators make' shows:

> 1) The translator as tour guide who turns the text into a description rather than translate the prose in order to facilitate the transfer of information he believes the reader will not otherwise grasp.
>
> 2) The translator as censor who suppresses terms and information

3) The translator as political activist who infuses the text with his political view
4) The translator as critique of the text who, for example, decides to downplay certain aspects
(Gibson 2007:45-50).

It is only as an afterthought that she mentions that one translator, upon being asked the question of why he changed the title of a book, informed her that the decision was marketing-based and was executed by the Editorial Department for economic reasons (ibid.:53). As this last example shows, the area of cultural translation has little to offer with regards to the commercial practice of translation, as practised by the publishers who are not dealing with a product from a former colony, but a highly sought after commodity from a fully developed country seen on an equal footing in terms of (media) power. Japan has, over the last two decades, moved from being a minor player in the intellectual rights market to being one of its biggest providers of media texts, with royalties having increased over 300% between 1992 and 2004 (Jetro, online, 2004), making them the second largest media exporter after the USA (ICv2, online, 07 January 2004). Lam estimated the value of Japanese media products in the international market to be US$ 12.5 billion (€13.2 billion) in 2002 and growing (Lam 2007:359).

2.1.3 Translation as Practice

Practitioners argue that there is more to translation than simply following rules when transferring a text from source to target language. It is important to remember that a good translator always works with a combination of science, skill, art and personal taste (Newmark 1988:6) at any given point in time. In addition, when working for a company, a translator might have to accommodate their in-house style, both in the way he translates, and the format in which he presents his translation (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003; Ross, interview, 07 December 2007). All of this requires flexibility and consistency on the part of the translator as he practices his craft. Yet, as Peter Newmark points out, one of the most persistent myths about translation, that has strongly influenced how translators are seen in most Western societies, is the fact that "common sense tells us that (translation) ought to be simple" (1988:5). This view influences both the esteem and pay translators receive for their work. Jonathan Clements, who has worked both as translator and writer, points out that "in the film business, where everyone has a horror story about how poorly writers are treated,

you can imagine how much extra difficulty there is for a translator. Creativity is a very difficult thing to evaluate" (2001:2). While the film industry is not the book or manga industry, the basic point about the difficulty of judging the translators' input remains the same. This thought, with regards to the inherent polysemy of the text that allows the translators to be creative in their individual decisions, is something practitioners have in common with the area of cultural translation approaches, except that the latter always, consciously or unconsciously, assumes the translator to be driven by a deliberate agenda of elevating language or culture above the other via means of language (e.g. Gibson 2007; Faiq 2007; Sengupta 1995).

Eugene Nida and Charles Taber (1969:1) argue that the recipient's capabilities should inform the form the text takes, a rather top-down approach; while Peter Newmark (1988:48), on the other hand, states that the text needs to be communicative in its translated form, while also placing the needs of the reader first. At the same time, it is important not to place too much emphasis on the imagined readers; otherwise most translators tend to under-translate the source text in question. In other words, they would simplify, generalise and sometimes abridge information they deem non-valuable or incomprehensible to the consumer (ibid.:80).

In contrast to the people who argue in favour of literal translations, the majority of scholars and practitioners have long argued that it is more important to keep the intention of the original alive. As Benjamin points out "fidelity in the translation of individual words can almost never fully reproduce the meaning they have in the original" (1973:78). Moreover, "(t)o translate... literally and fill (the text) with footnotes and appendices... the book becomes a text and not a novel" (Smith 1992:114), gaining the look of what is considered to be the right format for scientific works, but not for the majority of pleasure reading materials. There have long been exemptions to the rule: minimal footnotes can be found in literature and literature translations,[41] and author notes are often found in historic novels or those based on, or including, scientific procedures. However, the latter normally take the form of a small essay highlighting the research the author did prior to the project in order to give the text an

[41] See, for example, the German translation of Haruki Murakami's *Norwegian Wood – Naokos Lächeln* (2003)

authentic feeling.[42] They are meant as an extra for those interested in these specific genres.

The function of language as a carrier of culture, that shapes the particularities of each single systematic whole, creates grey areas in which a translator faces challenges that have to be overcome. Still sometimes even the most skilled translator has to accept working at a loss (Eco 2004:34), meaning they have to settle for the best possible rendering. Senko Maynard gives another good example as far as the organisation and prioritisation of information is concerned. The Japanese "subject-object-verb word order and the prominence of the topic-comment relation are two obvious ways" (1997:103) that Japanese and English differ. The topic within a sentence is the person or object talked about. While English has a tendency to put the topic at the beginning of the sentence to mark its importance, the Japanese language uses particles, such as 'wa' or 'ga' to mark it. German, on the other hand, also uses a particle (dieses) to mark the importance. Furthermore, German and English both need to make the subject clear by including a signifier of who is carrying out the task that is not needed in the Japanese sentence. To take one short example, somebody has made an accusation or stated a fact. The Japanese answer is the same and the listener knows what it means, determined by the topic criticised. In both English and German, it is necessary to contextualise within the answer:

> *Chigau yo*
> That is not it. / That is different. / You are mistaken. / I do not think so.
> Das halte ich aber für falsch. / Das ist aber falsch / Du liegst falsch. / Das finde ich nicht.

Unlike German or English, Japanese also possesses visual ways to distinguish between different kinds of language through the use of the three different sign systems: kanji, hiragana and katakana.

Hiragana and katakana are both syllable alphabets with clearly established readings indigenous to Japan, while Kanji are Chinese in origin. While hiragana are used for Japanese words, katakana are usually used to represent foreign words. Chinese characters are more complex; a kanji not only has more than one meaning, it can also connote a whole word or be part of a larger one. The kanji link up to form words

[42] See e.g the German translation of Noah Gordon's *Der Medicus* (1997)

that usually follow patterns; for example, electrical goods include a kanji for electricity or vehicles include a kanji for movement. Furthermore, two different kanji, while having the same reading, can mean completely different things: 'kami', for example, means both paper and a god/dess, depending on the characters used to write it. Kanji have to be learnt by their meanings and their relationships to each other. Since even adult Japanese do not know all kanji and their available combinations, due to their seemingly endless numbers, texts sometimes choose to include small kana riders, called furigana, to make sure the reader can read the text.[43] Kanji thus, through their polysemic nature, offer the possibility of switching meanings or introducing other types of language humour into the text, as will be discussed in Chapter Four. It is up to the Western translator of the Japanese text to find adequate creative renderings in their target language in order to preserve the humour.

In the end, these challenges can take various different shapes, from basic word group differences, in terms of the adjectives or verbs available in a language, to references to pop culture and advertising slogans, car models or even names for hairdos, as the *Guardian* article show-casing the discussion between an author and her Russian translator quoted below shows rather clearly. One particularly good example contains a discussion about mobile phone use between them:

> Borisov: I've got a new question. On page 47 we have "text message people and call them m8..." Does "text message" someone mean to address them with quotations from pop songs' lyrics, TV series, etc? And does "m8" mean "hey mate"?
>
> Thomas: Your question about Going Out: "text messaging" is when people send small messages from one mobile phone to another. It is also known as SMS messaging. Do you have this in Russia? What do you call it? ... There is a big fashion for what is known as "text-speak" here, where words are shortened or combined with numbers to make typing them into the phone keypad easier: Thus, m8, means simply, "mate".
>
> Borisov: As for SMS messaging – yes, a lot of people here have mobile phones... SMS messages are called, well, "es-em-esky". The "text-speak" will probably never develop in Russia – you cannot construct Russian words from single letters and numbers as easily as English ones. That's one of the problems with translating foreign realities. However I've found a way to convey the meaning of that particular message.
>
> (Borisov and Thomas, 11 September 2004:27-29)

[43] These furigana are small hiragana placed in tiny script next to the kanji in question to inform the reader of the proper reading and thus make it easier to figure out the kanji's meaning.

There are two opposing arguments regarding this subject: one group would argue in favour of non-fluent translations[44] and, in the case above, they would most likely have kept the 'm8' since it conveys the English-speaking origin of the source text. Rudolf Pannwitz refers to this as respect for the 'foreign spirit' of text (quoted in Benjamin 1973:81). Western hardcore manga fans ascribe to this practice in a way similar to that described by Donald Keene as being the overall preference of everyday Japanese readers when it comes to their preferred form of translation: they often enjoy "the foreignness of the idiom..., which persuade(s) them that somehow, miraculously, they are reading a work in a language they do not know" (1992:xiv). Barbara Gentikow argues that personal willingness to deal with foreign products in this way translates into positive and more careful dealing with the text (1993:76). White argues along the same lines when he says that "one can learn to see 'not understanding' as a 'space for learning'" (1995:159). American scholars, on the other hand, have proven that, unlike European scholars, they perceive foreign concepts to be a barrier and not a challenge (c.f. Allison 2000a; Levi 1999; Newitz 1994; Shiokawa 1999).

The other group would have argued in favour of invisible translations, where the 'illusion of translation' is kept intact, meaning that the text reads so fluently in translation that the reader forgets that the book was originally written in a different language (Venuti 1995:2). Yet another one would have argued for allowing a text to keep its voice. 'The voice' usually refers to the form of expression and the meaning that it carries (Newmark 1988:12). Translators usually try to find cultural equivalents which support this. If, for example, a pun or an idiom cannot be translated from one language to the other they will seek one in their own language, which conveys the same meaning (Olligschläger, interview, 03 September 2003; Zeidenitz, interview, 07 September 2003). This school of translation practice places emphasis on the characters' voices, the humour or the overall mood more than a pure literal rendering, which will often lose the story's flavour as intended by the author. "Thus only by being *literally unfaithful* can a translator succeed in being truly faithful to the source text" (Eco 2004:5).

[44] "Our translations... want to turn Hindi, Greek, English into German instead of turning German into Hindi, Greek, English (Pannwitz, quoted in Benjamin 1973:81)

It can be seen these three approaches of looking at translation differ not only in their evaluation of a translator's mother tongue with regards to whether it is preferable for it to represent the source or target language, but also in what constitutes an ideal translation. While a translator does indeed need to have a greater feeling for nuances and possibilities and a deeper understanding of the target language, there are bilingual and foreign speakers who, as I was able to observe, do manage to achieve this. There are also native speakers who are well versed in the culture of the target language. Furthermore, publishers of manga produce cheap translations on a fast schedule. Translators are mainly focused on getting the job done in the time allotted. Thus, a good translator, in the end, makes all the difference between a sloppy translation and one including a subliminal meaning that just might survive the re-writing and the editorial process to follow. Chapter Four will focus more in detail on the actual translators and their work, examining their practices, the pressures they work under and the possibility of their creative input against the obstacles of corporate output and branding needs.

2.2 On Organisations

Organisations come in many shapes and sizes. They are, unlike other types of social institutions,[45] based on purposely declared rules that determine the way they function in a goal-, task- or aim-oriented fashion (Morgan 2006:13). While these rules are not indeterminately fixed, they are at all times explicit in the way they allocate roles, responsibilities and resources within the organisational structure (Gellner and Hirsch 2001:2). As will be seen, organisations can be formal, informal or environmental in their system or all three at once (Wright 1994:17). It was Industrialisation that first introduced new forms of organised labour, which allowed for uniform mass production of the same product, and hence created the need for a whole new set of organisational structures. Adam Smith (1776) was the first to deal with an underlying fact of all modern organisational theories: the division of labour (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006:27). By the late nineteenth century, three new ways of looking at organisations and organisational structures had established their prominence: anthropology, sociology and (workflow/administrative) management models and guidelines. To cover the entirety of the research in this area is neither possible within this thesis nor

[45] Social institutions would, for example, be households or kinship groups (Gellner and Hirsch 2001:3), or to take a more modern and, for this thesis, an appropriate example: fandoms and interest groups.

helpful; therefore, it will instead focus on the major models and theories that are most useful for its purposes.[46]

Anthropology is mainly interested in organisational structures. These originally used to relate to specific societies or tribes and their particular social institutions (religious organisations, household organisations etc), and although anthropologists have moved on to include organisational bodies among the subjects studied, these are predominantly framed in known concepts such as cultures, tribes, clans or societies (Bryman 1988; Deutschmann 1987; Gellner and Hirsch 2001). Nevertheless, anthropology provides important research methods that will be considered below.

It was, however, sociology that first ventured into the realm of studying the organisational structures of institutions and workplaces, producing theories based on Max Weber's reflections on bureaucracy (1947, 1978) and Fredrick Taylor's suggestions on how to manage the industrial production process (Brooks 2003:122ff). Over the last century, various schools of thought have developed in the sociological field, providing a wide range of theoretical approaches relating to the study of organisations.[47] Influenced by these two different theories most sociological publications can still be grouped into two major areas of focus: those that concentrate on organisational theories and those that consider practical applications of theories in specific organisational models. Past applications of particular organisational models, while often insightful, have a tendency to be either too narrow or too broad in their focus to be a hundred percent applicable when focusing on a new type of production (Champion 1975:25f); nonetheless, they help to structure and systemise the organisation under investigation (Champion 1975:16).

Within the sociological and managerial theories, different schools of thought in the area of organisational theory have been grouped together in a variety of ways, yet most scholars differentiate between *Mechanistic* and *Organic Systems* (Brooks 2003:136; Burns and Stalker 1961:5); *Rational* and *Non-Rational Systems* (Champion 1975:30) or they break organisations down into *Open* and *Closed*

[46] There is a great variety of scholarly works which reflect in-depth on the broad range of theories and models, such as Champion (1975), Wright (1994), Brooks (2003) and Morgan (2006).
[47] Champion (1975:15) differentiates between organisational models and theories as follows: "Models act as classificatory schemes upon which theories can be constructed", they are not the same but they complement each other.

Systems (Katz and Kahn 1966:18).[48] Closed systems, the older approach of the two, frame the organisation as not being influenced by outside forces, but as a totally independent, self-sufficient and self-replicating system (ibid.:18). This approach used to dominate practical research on organisations, since it is cleaner, simpler and less cluttered by distracting factors (Champion 1975:29). Open systems approaches see organisations as organisms that are part of a specific ecological system with which they have to achieve a form of symbiosis in order to continue existing (Katz and Kahn 1966:18). This business environment not only includes interactions with suppliers, competitors, unions, governmental agencies and customers, but also the broader cultural environment (Morgan 2006:38f). Linking the various theoretical approaches, one could see mechanistic systems as, for the most part, closed rational systems, while most organic systems favour relational approaches and are, therefore, open non-rational systems.[49]

2.2.1 Classical Approaches: Machine and Scientific Systems

As mentioned, research into organisational structures began with Max Weber in the last decade of the nineteenth century. His theoretical systems are predominately *ideal types* (Parsons 1947:15), in other words, rational systems in which all irregularities to the system are seen as errors (irrationalities), rather than as part of the system's workings or its variations. Every part of the system is logically consistent within the framework of what needs to be achieved by the system, whether that institutionalised system is a *corporate group* (Verband), an *organisation* (Betrieb) or an *economic organisation* (Wirtschaftsverband) (Weber 1947:145ff). Weber defined organisations as predominantly bureaucratic systems, in which people are, through the use of free contracts, appointed to their posts based on skills, e.g. a merit system (Weber 1947:335). This means that control within the organisation is given to those possessing specific types of knowledge linked to their *occupation* (Beruf, also translated as *vocation*) such as specialisation and specification on function (Weber 1947:250 and 339). Yet, while the different positions within the organisation are very clearly differentiated by the different skill sets needed to fulfil them, Weber does not

[48] Morgan, for example, also specifies organisations as political systems, psychic prisons, cultures and instruments of domination (2006), while Woodward adds the military system (1969).

[49] Curiously, the open system approach was inspired by the theoretical biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy (Morgan 2006:38), who was trying to create a unifying scientific approach that would explain everything from the atom all the way up to a whole society (*General System Theory*) (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006:37).

perceive them to be linked to a specific person,[50] but rather as being exercisable by all people possessing said skill set (Weber 1978:975). Workers are seen as machine parts that can be exchanged when the need arises without any ill effect to the system itself, meaning that every work-related decision and execution is directed by rules and hierarchies, rather than being self determined (Massie 1965:405; Weber 1978:973).[51] The ideal type of hierarchy for a bureaucratic system is *monocratical*, meaning there is a clear channel for every position, every employee has just one direct superior and so forth, through which everything is funnelled to the top (*Instanzen*) (Weber 1978:957). Weber perceives this system as technically superior (ibid.:973), but he also sees it as critical due to its inhumane nature and restricting capacities for personal independent decision making (ibid.:975 and 987). This became the first approach in what has come to be known as the *Classical School*.

Much like Weber, Taylor's *Scientific Management Approach* broke down the steps of production and of the work within the organisation. Unlike Weber, he saw this organisational development in terms of decision making restrictions as completely positive. Taylor mostly focused on industrial production. He also divided the majority of tasks even further, negating the need for special skills in vast areas of production (Morgan 2006:22). Via this route, he removed all responsibility from the average worker and assigned it to management roles instead, since, in his view, the average worker possessed no self-motivation (Champion 1975:33; Morgan 2006:22). In other words, he not only separated the hand and the brain, but he also implemented a very strict system of control by putting managers, who set targets which needed to be achieved, in charge of every part of the production cycle (Morgan 2006:25). This system, known as *Fordism*, was later on translated into practice by the car manufacturer Henry Ford; it dominated industrial production, especially in the USA, until at least the 1980s (Bissett 2001:124).

As Morgan (2006:27f) has noted, there are both positive and negative aspects to mechanistic systems approaches, which makes them more applicable to some, rather than other, organisations. All mechanistic theories emphasise rationality and a lack of both spontaneity and divergence. They do work well if the majority of the

[50] Weber also talks about a different kind of irregularity: *charisma*. This defining factor is not linked to economic considerations, and can as such be seen as an anti-economic force (Weber 1947:361f).
[51] For the relevant English translations refer to Weber (1947:145-171 and 335-362) and Weber (1978:956-1005).

tasks performed are straightforward and repetitive, but they fail in organisations that constantly have to adapt to changing conditions. Consequently, only if the environment is stable and predominantly unchanging with regards to the product produced does it make sense to fix the organisation's structure within such a rigid system. In the end, all mechanistic systems' theories have in common that they perceive organisations as structuring the work via clear rules, which keep the work predictable and produce reliable and interchangeable results every time. The repetitive, mechanical, routinised work is then monitored to make sure that the goals are achieved (Morgan 2006:12ff). However, as Weber realised from the start, there is a human cost to a completely mechanistic system. This became apparent during the 1920s, when economists at Harvard realised that outputs did not grow as much as new machines should have guaranteed and psychologists realised that workers fluctuated more often than they used to (Guion 1975:7). This has subsequently led to new approaches focusing on the human component of the organisation, as the next section will show.

Purely mechanistic approaches - while widely influential - hold limited significance for this research, since publishers are relying to a vast extent on the adaptive skills of their staff and the individuality of each of their products. While manga are indeed mass-produced, the different properties and the people who work on them are not interchangeable in the manner of workers on a car assembly line.[52] Every book has its own unique demands and, thus, the people working on them need to be flexible and adaptable, which stands in clear opposition to the static nature of the mechanistic system. However, one aspect of the mechanistic system has had quite an influence on the publishing sector and that is the notion of controlling the work through measures of quality assurance, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

2.2.2 Hawthorne and the Organic Paradigm Shift

Tom Burns and G.M. Stalker first broke down existing organisational systems into the categories of mechanistic and organic in 1961, based on the different systems they had seen develop over the last thirty years. They noted that organic systems are based on communication and self-interpretation, which are present at all levels in the organisation (1961:xi, 9). Hence, organic systems present themselves as a unit with

[52] Other early Classical Management Theorists are Fayol (1949), Gulick and Urwick (1937) or Mooney and Reiley (1931).

a chosen code of conduct aimed at a unified goal (ibid.:11). This social outlook makes them more adaptable to both technical and social change, (ibid.:19f) than the static mechanistic system would be.

Interestingly enough, it was originally a psychological research series commonly known as the *Hawthorne Studies* set up by Elton Mayo (1933, 1945) which would have a lasting effect on both sociologists and management theorists and which triggered the development of open systems research, as discussed below. Mayo's practical approach to proving a research theory did not originate in the sociological spheres, which at that point had become bogged down in theoretical approaches. Here, Marxist ideas about the worker's suppression and exploitation narrowed research analyses. One example of this line of thought can be found in the works of the Frankfurt School on *Critical Theory*, published in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* between 1932 and 1941. The sociological discussion at the time did not move into actual praxis and, thus, the scientists felt no need to expose their theories to practical scrutiny. The original notion of workers as drones was, in many ways, the same image that had existed at the very beginning of the discipline. The scholars of the Harvard Business School felt they needed to understand why, if Taylor's system worked in such good harmony with the theoretical beliefs, it actually failed to achieve its potential to raise the production outputs in many areas.

Mayo's study originally only set out to investigate possible links between workers' fatigue and their work conditions, but the research soon shifted to deal with attitudes, preoccupations and social environments, identifying "informal organisations" within the organisation, consisting of friendship groups and other forms of unscripted interactions (Morgan 2006:35). In total, five distinct stages of research took place between 1927 and 1932 at the Western Electric Company (or the Hawthorne Works near Chicago, Illinois) (Champion 1975:46f).[53] Researchers realised that, by giving attention to the workers, they observed new patterns developing which carried over into the actual work organisation in terms of new relationships and patterns of interaction. The attention paid to the workers by the researchers, in turn, increased their productivity for a time before it settled back to old standards. This increase occurred every time the researchers changed the working conditions, thus showing that it was the attention and observation that triggered the psychological satisfaction workers felt (*Hawthorne Effect*) (Etzioni 1964:33). It was only through these studies,

[53] For in-depth descriptions of the tests and their technical aspects, refer to Mayo (1933, 1945) and Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939).

as flawed as they are (for a detailed listing see Landsberger 1958), that the notion of humans as social beings, who influence work simply through being human, entered organisational research (Morgan 2006:35). As will be further discussed in Chapter Six, modern publishers actually make use of this aspect of man's social nature in their networking approaches.

In the 1950s, scholars only tried to modify existing thought on classical systems by incorporating the human component, allowing workers some autonomy, involvement and ultimately, responsibility for their work. These systems, mostly developed by organisational psychologists in the field, became known as *Sociotechnical Systems* (c.f. Argyris 1964; Herzberg 1966; McGregor 1967). This approach attempted to modify the mechanistic system by 'enriching it' through the return of some measure of responsibility, involvement and autonomy to the employees (Morgan 2006:36). The socio-technical approach would have a renaissance in the 1990s, when it was called the *Systems Approach,* at which time it came to prominence within the field of organisational theory. Researchers, reaching back to studies such as those conducted at the Travistock Institute of Human Relations in the late 1940s by Trist and Bamforth (1951) on new technologies impacting on coal miners, argued that there were both technical and social aspects to most job-related situations. They showed that, in a modern company, structure and technology are not only connected, but that these are to an equal measure bound to the management, the employees and the task at hand (*Socio-Technical System Theory*) (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006:40). Their approach is based on autonomous groups within the company that function like building blocks, which can be placed, allocated and relocated, leading to variations in the work performed and, thus, an increase in the workers' skills over time (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006:41). Future chapters will highlight this nature of shifting functions between units and the method of restructuring them to fit new needs is present in both publishers, although it is more pronounced in Tokyopop.

In the 1960s, researchers such as Keith Davis decided to approach organisations completely from a *Human Relations Approach*, while still analysing the system as a closed one (1962). The centre of the research moved to the individual, examining each employee's needs, which the organisation endeavours to secure through a focus on *human dignity* (an equal measure of respect for each employee), *individual*

difference (everybody has something unique to offer the organisation), *motivational factors* (encouragements both tangible and non-tangible) and the exercise of *mutual interests* (producing the organisation's product or service) (Davis 1962:14-19). This overemphasis on social factors creates just as many problems as the original mechanistic model, which denied the human factor. This theory neglects to account for formal or tedious tasks and their repetitiveness necessary for the organisation to actually function and, thus, does not show the structural influences on the way motivations are articulated and compromises between interests are reached in light of practical organisational restrictions. Conflicts that arise between the needs of the individual and the needs of the organisation are also negated (Champion 1975:50); the same holds true for conflicts between different departments (Burns 1969:232). Furthermore, the needs of the individual alone are already, to a large extent, factors external to the organisation, thus clearly hampering the closed system Keith Davis assumed he was looking at. Since publishers rely on the cooperation between different departments, while individual needs of these departments can lead to conflict, this absence presents a major weakness in this approach, making it unsuitable for this thesis. Furthermore, the lack of formal structure makes it practically impossible to implement a workflow that is focused on a clear chain of events in which each part of the structure needs to be able to trust in the previous stage being completed fully and on schedule. The systems supposed closed nature also poses a problem due to the fact that outside influences such as contractors (e.g. printers and distributors) are an integral part of the production process itself, as are broader society, changes in the social, political, technological and economic areas – all of which have a lasting effect on media production (Croteau and Hoyes 1997:33).

2.2.3 Organic Systems: Human-Relations Model

The earliest open system is now commonly referred to as the *Natural System*. Gouldner (1959) and Parsons (1951, 1956) both view the term organisation as a social entity that receives input from external sources and then uses these to produce their product or service. These, in turn, are reintroduced into the external environment. The health of the organisation depends on keeping equilibrium between the in- and output (Goulder 1959:405-410). Research in this field focuses on the interrelation between a company's internal departments, the company itself and its

environment, yet much like the human-relations approach, it puts little stock in an actual reflection of organisational structures. Despite its flaws, I plan to utilise part of this approach in relation to the branding of the companies, since this takes place, to a great extent, in non-formal structures of the sort which will be described in Chapter Six.

Later on, scholars such as Hannan and Freeman (1977), as well as Aldrich (1979) broadened the original biological approach and defined organisations as populations, which, like any other species, depend on finding what they need to survive in their surrounding environment. If an environment changes, the organisation either adapts or this specific type of organisation will vanish (Morgan 2006:60). In other words, transactions with the business environment are a requirement of survival, in addition to being the source of potential growth (Lawrence and Lorsch 1969:23). This is, again, a notion that presents itself when reflecting on the branded aspect of the publishers in question and is additionally of vast relevance to their Distribution and Sales Divisions.

Much like mechanistic theories, organic organisational theories also present both opportunities and challenges. They are useful when trying to understand the relationships between an organisation and its environment; furthermore, the notion of "needs" on the part of the organisation itself, as well as the individuals who make up the organisation. This leads scholars to be able to identify different 'species' of organisation, allowing them to see which organisational approach is best suited for which environment. The danger is that relationships are perceived as too concrete, and the different parts of the organisation as too independent in terms of their functionality. After all, the organisation would fall apart if the units did not work with each other in achieving goals. There is also the need to distinguish between the tangible (material structures) and non-tangible (ideas, norms, beliefs) parts of the organisation in terms of their durability and influence (Morgan 2001:65-68).

2.2.4 Systems Theories

In the late 1960s, scholars began to realise that formal and informal structures, which the classical approaches separated, are not to be seen as alternatives, since both are part of an organisation's functionality (Smith 1967:71). Scholars moved back to incorporating both aspects of the mechanistic and organic models into their research in order to account for the need of modern organisations to deal with both the repetitive uniform aspects the employees are trained for and the unplanned, non-scripted events which need innovative strategies on their part (e.g. Litwak's *Professional Model* 1961). They also started to define those who participate in the organisation in much broader terms. The production process no longer included just managers and employees, but also suppliers, customers, creditors, governments and the society at large (Hicks and Gullett 1975:42f); thus, a huge variety of human stakeholders with their own personal and organisational agendas had to be considered.

In the 1980s, anthropologists also started to express a renewed interest in economic organisations, reflecting on them using an approach framed in terminology and research methods based on their prior research of the organisational structures of societies and tribes (Schwartzmann 1993:2). Anthropological descriptions, which are usually based on long term participant observation and fieldwork, are often more multilayered than those of management guides or sociologists and tend to refer to both sides of work relations present with organisations. "This approach recognizes that anthropologists must both understand and work within native cultural systems, but they must also question and attempt to go beyond them by adopting a comparative and critical perspective in their research" (ibid.:35).
For the most part, anthropologists argue that all organisations possess a *formal* and an *informal* system, all the while being influenced by the environment in which they operate (Wright 1994:17). The formal system represents the officially organised side of a company (e.g. organisational structure, hierarchies, company rules and job descriptions), while the informal system refers to the way employees or departments relate to, work with and influence each other on a practical, discursive basis (Wright 1994:17). This shows that every organisation consists of, simultaneously, the way a system is officially represented on paper and how the people who represent that

system actually make it work for themselves (Smith 1967:71). This way of understanding companies is important to my investigations, as will become apparent throughout Chapters Four through Six, due to my own ethnographic research set up during fieldwork.

2.2.5 Mixing it up: Contingency, Networks and Shamrocks

Anthropologists were not the only ones who started to pay attention to differences between subsets. Paul Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1969:24) had already established that different units of the same company might actually work best utilising different organisational approaches due to their individual environments (*Contingency Theory*). Administration, for example, has different goals, relationships and needs than the Marketing or Production Departments. The forced consistency of structure between all departments would accordingly be detrimental to the overall success of the business (Lawrence and Lorsch 1967:7, 1969:24). Lawrence and Lorsch stressed the need for the differences to be viewed as strengths and that particular attention should be paid to integrating these units into the whole, while preserving their uniqueness (1967:8). During the second half of the 1980s, the difference amongst these structures became more apparent in the way companies operated, since more and more work was outsourced. Consequently, closed systems no longer proved to be inclusive enough to deal with the vast majority of modern businesses, especially since mechanistic models simply measured productivity in relation to the economic utilisation of company resources (Massie 1965:405); this becomes problematic if, for example, a vast part of the product is produced by outside sources and can therefore not be quantified and controlled within the system. Thus, another open system model gained prominence: Handy's concept of the *Shamrock Organisation,* in which he postulates that the preoccupation with the bottom line has moved the vast majority of modern businesses into a structure that used to be favoured in seasonal agricultural and service industries (1989:70ff).

His organisational shamrock consists of three actual leaves and a fourth 'informal' leaf, which is not part of the official formal structure of the company. What sets this new business model apart from its forerunners is that each leaf carries out a significant part of the workflow (Handy 1989:75); only part of the work is done by the organisation proper. This actual organisation is *represented by* and *through* the

Professional Core, highly valued full-time employees, who are well reimbursed for their work, but are in return expected to live for and 'live' the company (ibid.:72). The second leaf is represented by the *Contractual Fringe*, constituting both individuals and organisations. The most important impact the outsourcing has on the core is a loss of control over the work processes utilised to achieve a goal or target, since the fringe is usually paid according to previously set targets only, disregarding the way the work is structured (ibid.:77). The third leaf is made up of the *Flexible Labour Force*, which is hired either to complete specific tasks or to help out in times of increased need (ibid.:80). While the flexible labour force often consists of less skilled individuals, there are times when the exact opposite can also be true. All three leaves have different levels of commitment towards the organisation, ranging from extremely high in the first leaf to extremely low in the third, with its members being committed to their job or work group (ibid.:80). It is not only the commitment that differs: salary, management style and organisation of work can show extensive dissimilarities (ibid.:72).

Handy's system of differentiation works well for the more flexible production situations (Bissett 2001:126) that a publisher faces. It also allows for different work cultures to emerge that professionals can choose from: 'living' a structured company existence or working in a free socially driven environment as a freelancer. Handy's approach accounts for both: fixed structures and organic interconnectedness. More importantly, especially for a branded organisation, is the utilisation, but also the need for Handy's fourth non-formal leaf: the customers (Handy 1989:81). The buyers, users and critics of the work produced, and the company's brand ambassadors. Yet, is this fourth leaf utilised? Branding makes this task easier, as seen later in this chapter and in Chapter Six which includes a discussion on how companies brand themselves, their employees, their products and, ultimately, their buyers. Handy's mixture of formal and informal, as well as internal and external, parts of the organisation make his approach the most viable for my research and it will be referred to throughout the thesis.

Ultimately, most organisations employ a mixture of mechanistic and organic structures, depending on the kind of work carried out. As Brooks shows, empirical evidence collected over the years demonstrates that output, organisational size and the immediate business environment all have a measurable effect on all aspects of

the organisation; moreover, the more unstable the environment is, the more flexibility on the side of the company becomes necessary for its survival (Brooks 2003:132f). Still, as Burns noted as early as 1969, the new patterns of employment, where the links to the pseudo-community a stable work-place creates become weak, posses both promises and dangers, both for the individual, but also for the company which sees itself as being opposite a huge amount of people whose loyalty is to themselves (Burns 1969:136). It shall be seen how and in what combination these patterns are true for the publishers researched, and whether these differences are grounded in national differences or mostly determined by the way the organisation perceives itself, as well as by the process of translating its products.

2.3 On Brands

Localising publishers transfer a foreign medium into a local one via the physical transformation applied to it within the production process and the intangible framing of the localised product as part of their own brand;[54] but what does that mean for a publisher and the way he sells his books? After all, brands have been called a lot of things by scholars and practitioners alike: cultural resources, immaterial capital, social institutions, virtual real estate (Arvidsson 2006a:5ff), experiences (Ahonen and Moore 2005:14) and even promises (Buckingham 2008:5). Branding originates in the realm of property. Different herds and people were branded in order to clarify and visualise the ownership over slaves and livestock, in other words branding was a tool to objectify a life form and assign ownership over it (Buckingham 2008:12; Lury 2004:75). However, pretty early on artisans, such as producers of pottery, used brands to sign their work and thus assign the work a link to the artisan who had produced it, thus starting the trend of giving an object an identity originating outside its status as object, thus subjectifying it (Temporal 2000:31). Today brands are seen as a set of values to be aspired to (Vaid 2003:12) or as an avenue of self expression (Temporal 2000:30). In the end, all these definitions have one thing in common: ultimately they are about people, about behaviour and about relationships (Buckingham 2008:5). As such, strong brands do not just present the public with a product they need, but also provide rational benefits and fulfil emotional needs (Aaker 1996:97). In the case of media, these aspects are perceived as being

[54] The word branding is derived from the Old Norse word *brandr*, meaning 'to burn' (Blackett 2003:13).

heightened due to a greater amount of interest, which is founded in media's integral position in modern life (Croteau and Hoyes 1997:13). Based on this, media producers often display the tendency to avoid potential moral controversies, since these can have negative effects on their revenue (ibid.:44). Branding can offer organisations a variety of advantages, such as competitive differentiation premium prices/higher margins, higher visibility and greater security due to retention of market (Temporal 2000:11). Brands present imagined or real added value for both the consumer and the producer.

2.3.1 What is a Brand?

Today, brands are viewed as promises of quality, either in terms of product quality or experience level that the user can expect from the producer of the branded goods or services. Lury furthers this notion by including a historical dimension when she defines brands as "a set of relations between products in time" (2004:2), which stands in contrast to the current emotional connection. While brands originated earlier, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the notion of brands started to be used in a proto version of what they are today. It was only after material culture had experienced a shift towards an early consumer society, through such affordable luxury goods as tea, cocoa and coffee, that everyday goods became more than mere necessities (Sassatelli 2007:39). Brands started to appear with the onset of mass-produced, standardised consumer products in the nineteenth century, foremost through the use of logos on products. This allowed companies to direct price points, to increase control in opposition to retailers and to make their identity a selling point (Lury 2004:19); thus meaning they were employed as a mark of distinction between products with similar functionality (Arvidsson 2006b:74).

Modern marketing via brands started to slowly grow at the beginning of the twentieth century and then took over as the norm after the Second World War.[55] Since the 1980s, marketing of brands has shifted drastically from product-focused marketing towards relationship-focused approaches (Bruhn 2003:1f). While fictional characters as testimonials for brands were common early on, the new trend saw the emergence of marketing which subjectified entire companies and even created countries' 'identities' (Baldauf 2003:53). Consequently, it is not surprising that one of the more

[55] For more information on the history of branding, which will not be covered within the scope of this thesis, refer to Lury (2004), Sassatelli (2007) and Trentmann (2006).

recent theories on branding stipulates that brands achieve their main function of adding value to a corporation and its product through "relying on the radical transfer of meaning... (cannibalisation of) prevalent image repertoires and abstracts and affix(ing) contested signs to the commodities" (ibid.:53); meaning brands achieve a familiarity through well known signifiers which are perceived by all users as tools of social exchanges that add value to the user's social status (ibid.:54). In that regard, brands today become a 'promise' that needs to be kept and fulfilled after the initial purchase is made (Buckingham 2008:5). With popular culture and media products, this promise often not only centres on quality, but also on the fulfilment of needs for self expression. Subsequently, these brands are also used as tools for determining a person's social position vis-à-vis his peers (Quarl 2003:18). Media with a strong fan base utilises this notion of brands being a part of a lifestyle within their interaction with their consumers, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

2.3.2 Why do Companies Become Corporate Brands?

Why do publishers bother with a corporate brand? Is it not enough to market each product brand like an event? After all, the content of the books varies, as well as the audience they speak to in terms of story, style and artwork. Possessing a widely recognised brand will be an advantage to a company in today's markets, e.g. opening doors to company representatives and facilitating price negotiations with contractors and retailers (Wyatt 2006:C1).

By encoding distinct and desirable personality traits in its brand image, a publisher speaks to his consumers on a more personal level. Customer Relationship Marketing drives sales and the benefits of a strong brand will most certainly outweigh its costs, thus changing the way society deals with it, since subjects are perceived to be real and accountable, as opposed to objects, which are rendered in far broader and less specific terms (Aaker 1996:68). One can have a relationship with a subject and, with networking and relationship marketing being major influences on sales, the benefits of such an asset grow exponentially (e.g. Brodie *et al.* 1997; Cravens and Piercy 1994; Grönroos 1994; Weber 2007).

This change in outside perception allows companies to emphasize specific identity-traits which they then can highlight at specific points in time, depending on which stakeholder they are interacting with, in a manner resembling Erving Goffman's

(1959) theory of human 'impression management'. According to Goffman, human relationships are turned into ritualised performances that allow both players to place the opposite party into a framework of social interaction (Goffman 1959:4), helping them to create an impression through referring back to similar interactions experienced in the past. This leads to the creation of a sense of recollection and, therefore, familiarity, and helps the parties to frame their relationship (ibid.:1). Adapting this strategy to suit their corporate needs allows companies, just like human beings, to become more capable of dealing with the extensive array of different groups without getting lost within the vast range of different demands being levelled at their door (Cravens and Piercy 1994:40). As in the case of a human, it enables the publishers to categorise and prioritise their relationships in a variety of ways and to fulfil expectations with regards to their products and themselves (Varra 1992:140). Here *Human-Relations Models* find their uses when linking organisational behaviour with the needs of the corporate brand for articulation. Or, to use David Aaker's terminology (1996:vii), managing the organisation's aspects through articulation allows organisations to control the 'perspective' in which they are perceived. All the while, the organisation has to ensure that their multiple identities are in harmony with each other in order to avoid a distorted image being formed (see also: Balmer and Greyser 2002:73).

David Aaker argues that there are four distinct perspectives governing the identity of a brand that publishers aspire to (1996:68). Yet, at all times, the publisher has to make sure that the facets remain synchronised; that is, if they want to be successful in conveying themselves as distinct brands in the market.

Facets of Brands Identity	Scope of each Facet	Exemplified using Publishers
brand-as-product	Product scope, product attributes, quality/value, uses, users, country of origin	What kind of material is being published, who else is making it available and where? To whom (both with regards to locus and price point) is it available? What is the perceived quality?
brand-as-organisation	Organisational attributes and structure, local/global	Is the publisher a local business or do they publish internationally? How is the publisher structured, does he focus on one medium or is his approach aimed towards multi media convergence of the same property?
brand-as-person	Personality of the brand, consumer relations	What personality traits are associated with the publishers? Are they seen as approachable or aloof, aggressive or group-oriented, innovative or conservative?
brand-as-symbol	Visual imagery/metaphors, brand heritage, Logos	What do the logos look like? How and where are the logos utilised? How is the history of the publisher represented?

Exhibit 2.1: The four dimensions of each brand that every company employs, based on Aaker 1996:68

2.3.3 Corporate Branding

These four aspects together are part of the *corporate identity* that intersects with the organisation-related brand (Brexendorf and Kernstock 2007:33). The concept of the corporate brand focuses on the communication of values, both on internal and external levels, utilising different aspects and perspectives to get these across. It is the corporate brand that shapes the vision, values and culture of the organisation as perceived by the outside world (ibid.:33) and it is in the eyes of the outside world that the corporate brand takes shape. In order to be visible as brands, organisations spend a lot of time, energy and money on the design of their products and communication (Cornelissen *et al.* 2007:S6).

While Chapters Five and Six will pay closer attention to these aspects in relation to the publishers researched, it is important to note there that the aspects that are of

most interest to this research project are brand-as-organisation and brand-as-person, as the subjectification of the organisation. The organisational side of the brand ties directly into the above discussed organisational theories, because in every model the people and structures emphasized to represent the company differ. In a mechanical system, the organisation, with the exception of their highest leadership, remains unknown. As far as outsiders are concerned, neither names nor positions overtly call attention to staff or workers. In an organic or network approach, the amount of employees used in the outward representation of the brand image increases due to a larger amount of employees being actively used in its articulation. Here, employees become the interface for customer-related marketing and branding (Brexendorf and Kernstock 2007:35). This contact no longer just takes place within the confines of the medium itself, through fan letters, or person-to-person at trade fairs, but has expanded to include communication and representation in the internet's virtual space. Employees, both in terms of the work they do and, even more so, in the way they represent that work and their organisation, have become the key to the publishers' relationship marketing (Punjaisri and Wilson 2007:59). Employees are transformed into the face and the voice of the company. This is especially prevalent in service and media organisations, which deal with image (e.g. Grainge 2008), and in industries producing cult brands (e.g. Kozinets 2007; Ragas and Bueno 2002) or lifestyle products aimed at fans and teenagers (e.g. Quarl 2003; Shields 1992).

This is where Handy's fourth 'informal' leaf from his shamrock organisational model (1989:81) shows the potential to blossom into a fully-fledged formal leaf. Especially in today's service and media industry, branded organisations rely heavily on customer *evangelists*[56] (McConnell and Huba 2003:2) since, as Ben McConnell and Jackie Huba point out, around 67% of the US economy is influenced by what is now termed 'buzz' (2003:41), meaning, in terms of manga, word of mouth endorsements by people trusted to have good or similar tastes with regards to media content. Hence having group-related spokespeople that are seen to be trustworthy in their decisions is vital to the company's successful customer relations. This customer-oriented part of branding is referred to as *brand management* (Brexendorf and Kernstock 2007:33). While very real in its importance, this relationship between producer and

[56] Ahonen and Moore define brand evangelists as 'Alpha Users': Powerful influential people who initiate discussions and work as multipliers and efficient communicators of the brand to their peers (2005:2001).

consumer is based on "the charm of the consumer as a free subject" (Brewer and Trentmann 2006:13) whose consumption practices are stirred by the producer (Arvidsson 2006b:73). In recent years, publishers, like many other companies, have moved to expand the tools they employ for brand management to increase the amount of time spent both on *Customer Relations Management* (CRM) and other interactive forms of marketing such as blogging, forums, events and so forth (e.g. Ahonen and Moore 2005; Grainge 2008; Vaid 2003; Weber 2007; Willett 2008). These marketing forms are increasingly seen as favourable, since they are perceived to be interactive by users rather than interruptive, e.g. classical marketing (e.g. advertising, commercials) due to their focus on interactivity and information (Ahonen and Moore 2005:43). At the same time, it allows companies to be informal with their consumers, far more up to date than classical communication outlets (ibid.:99) and entertainment (ibid.:119). Chapter Six will return to these issues in-depth when focusing on the branding of the medium and the publishers in question.

2.4 Where do we go from here?

In order to apply the discussed organisational theories, notions of translation and branding for the purpose of this thesis, the following chapter will take a closer look at the structures of the publishers researched. After all, the shape the organisation takes is mostly influenced by the products or services it renders and the environment in which it is situated. All these factors shape the job-roles needed to complete the work of a company, the place and power they hold within the business structure (Brooks 2005:132) and how the corporate brand represents itself (Brexendorf and Kernstock 2007:35), as well as who represents it (Powell 2007:41). The interest of all stakeholders to keep the (corporate) brand alive and strong is strongly linked to the long-time financial security such brands provide for all involved in the production, distribution and sale of the products it represents (Temporal 2000:11). However, it is not easy for modern organisations to keep the balance between actual, communicated, conceived, ideal and desired corporate image due to the sheer complexity of both the company and the market (Balmer and Greyser 2002:73). So, how do these factors influence organisational structures and the workflow of the publishers researched and vice versa?

While each publisher in itself presents an organised structure with a corporate identity and a working philosophy, they also strive to present themselves in a positive light and as distinct entities towards external groups and the public at large, adopting a public role or brand identity. They deliberately choose to represent the publishing houses as a brand rather than as mere producers of the commodity media. This means they have to pay attention to both their image and consistency in product quality, trade dress and projected image in order to be successful over time. Working in the same field does not mean that their structure or chosen identity is identical; on the contrary, they are going to try to set themselves apart. So, over the next six chapters, this thesis will reflect on the different aspects of each publisher in order to determine what this image is and in what relation it stands to the organisational structure and the approach to localisation.

Chapter 3
On how to Organise the Localisation of Media

The theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter Two already alluded to the fact that manga localisation happens in a production space that is defined by different aspects: the type of translation happening, the organisational approach to implementing this localisation and the subsequent framing of it, as defined by the needs of the organisation. Furthermore, the publisher's approach towards its perceived field of operation, be it local, regional or global, shapes the structural needs vis-à-vis its stakeholders and modus operandi. This chapter will thus focus on clarifying the publishers' production structure and how they and the subsequent workflow are influenced by their field of operation; after all, as the Introduction showed, localisation of comics has been the norm in Germany for about sixty years, while it only recently became a sizeable percentage of comic production in the USA. Classical American structures are first and foremost geared towards original productions and subsequently require changes when shifting the focus to materials that are governed by other rules, as the reflection on licensing later in this chapter will show. First of all, however, the chapter will focus on the publishers and their organisational structures.

3.1 Carlsen Comics – A Regional Player with Centralised Headquarters

As the Introduction already clarified, Carlsen, while part of a corporate transnational media conglomerate, is for all intents and purposes an independently operating print media publisher with a regional focus. Its regional reach is defined by language rather than national borders. While its sales representatives only cover Germany, Austria and Switzerland, their products are also available in the German speaking parts of Belgium and Denmark, as well as Luxembourg (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). Although some of these regions have their own dialects of German, Carlsen does not localise their manga in different versions to reflect these language differences, but produces one version of each translation in High German. The only works in regional dialects are those by German speaking authors who use dialect as

a tool in their original works, such as, for example, James Krüss' usage of Northern German Friesisch.

The publisher's operational centre for the entire region is centralised in their Hamburg office, but contractors are situated all over Germany and neighbouring countries. The internal structure of Carlsen and the level of independency of the comic section of Carlsen Comics have changed over the years. The independent structure, in place during my research, was implemented in 1996. This move towards independent production was initiated by Joachim Kaps and completely revamped the internal structure of Carlsen Comics. Until that time, Production, Sales, Marketing and PR for the comics division had been handled by the children's book part of the company jointly for both sections. Kaps established separate structures in these areas in order to better cope with the huge differences in knowledge required to publish comics in comparison to children's books (Pfeiffer, online, March 2004). Two of the differences Kaps stressed lay in the distribution of comics into the press market and another in the consumer structures (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). This independent structure was still in place during my fieldwork; although by 2005 Marketing had been fully re-amalgamated into one department for both divisions, Production, Sales and Editorial remained independent (Schwarz, interview, 29 July 2006). This change in structure was mirrored by a substantial change in staff (Waclawiczek, online, 19 June 2005).[57]

During my research placement, Carlsen Comics was situated in a separate building next to the main Carlsen building. With the exception of the Personnel Management and the Accounts Receivable Departments that covered both children's book and comic section, all the other departments were situated within this building and they worked independently from the book publishing arm most of the time. Since then, the comic department has moved into the main building (Schwarz, interview, 29 July 2006). The only part completely external to both Carlsen and Carlsen Comics was Accounts Payable, including the oversight over Carlsen salaries, which are administrated through the Finance Department of Piper, another, larger German book publisher belonging to the Bonnier Group (personal observation 2002).

[57] At least five employees left Carlsen's employment during this period and joined the newly formed Tokyopop Germany.

Within this building, the offices of Carlsen Comics were situated on three different floors, creating differentiated work areas for each department. The first floor held all nine editors, using four separate offices. Two of these offices could be described as the *shôjo* and *shônen* offices due to their focus on these sorts of manga. In addition to bi-monthly manga *tankôbon* releases, these two offices were also responsible for the publication of the two manga magazines, *Banzai!,* the magazine focusing on *shônen* stories,[58] and *Daisuki*, its equivalent focusing on *shôjo* stories, which Carlsen released on a monthly basis. The person responsible for advertisement acquisition for these and the *Dragon Ball Z* magazine was also situated in these offices. After I left, Carlsen Comics changed the structures in order to establish editorial positions which focused completely on the two magazines (Blaumann, interview, 03 September 2003). This change of the inner departmental breakdown, to accommodate the different needs and practicalities of magazine publishing, made sense. Not only is the rotation of the magazines faster than that of the regular *tankôbon* publications, they also require a greater amount of original material to be produced by the local publisher. While some manga *tankôbon* do include one or two pages of extra content, about one fifth of the magazine is devoted to editorial content. Part of this editorial content is interactive with its audience through fan art and letters, as well as competitions and polls. The moment this editorial content is linked to the licensed manga published in the magazine, it needs to be sent to the licensor for approval (ibid.). *Banzai!*, like Viz's American *Shônen Jump* version, was a direct sublicense of Shueisha's *Shônen Jump* brand and, as Japan's number one manga magazine brand, Shueisha wanted to make sure it lived up to the brand's standard they had set (Schweitzer, interview, 30 August 2002). In terms of structure, this meant that interactivity between the magazine editors and the Japanese source had a higher frequency and a regular schedule, as well as editorial approval shared transnationally between licensee and licensor. Furthermore, the magazines were predominately situated within the press market and only secondarily within the book market, which accounts for the majority of *tankôbon* sales, leading to different types of distribution. One of the major differences between the press market and the book- and comic shops is the remission of periodicals such as magazines after the monthly period when they are replaced by the following issue. While the financial risk to a publisher in the (direct) press market is therefore higher if the product does not sell

[58] *BANZAI!* was discontinued in December 2005, when Shueisha established an exclusive partnership with Tokyopop Germany (Splash Comics, online, 23 November 2005).

as well as expected, the short term profit margin is usually higher as well (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002).

The other two offices were more varied, both in working with *shônen* and *shôjo* titles at the same time, but also because the majority of European title translations were handled here. My workstation was placed in one of these two offices that housed Carlsen Comics' Editor-in Chief. The doors of the Editorial Department offices and the Communications office (press/ internet) next door were usually open and a lot of traffic (both people and materials) took place between the offices. The last office on the floor was the office of the publishing director; most meetings with German original artists took place there, while the licensed materials, both German and foreign, were placed in the other offices.

3.1 The boxes in the Production Department contain all relevant material for the books.

The second floor housed the Production Department. The role of the Production Department was mostly a managerial one (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). While they did produce the covers for the books, the scanning and the majority of lettering took place at outsourced contractors. They mostly coordinated the different steps, but also functioned in an archival fashion. Proofs, bluelines,[59] colour and lettering information and galley proofs were archived for future reference. The Production Department also organised the print runs for all printed matter produced by the comic section and sent members to oversee those print runs at the printing plants, which in the case of Carlsen, are situated in various European countries (ibid.).

The last level held the Sales and the Marketing/Advertisement Department. Marketing and Advertisement dealt with promotional materials, the set-up of trade fair and convention booths, and commissioning advertisements and booking ad space for Carlsen Comics' products, which are placed in company external publications or media (Witt, interview, 30 August 2002). The Sales and Distribution Department consisted of the Sales team at Carlsen Comics itself, who co-ordinated Direct Sales

[59] Bluelines are monochrome photographic contact prints made from photo-transferred printing plates or films.

personnel on the ground, as well as dealing with retailers and incoming questions from booksellers and other vendors. The Carlsen Comics Sales team also organised a variety of seminars for booksellers to familiarise them with manga. These seminars covered different topics ranging from the technical aspects of how to stock manga to more background-related historical and cultural backdrop of the medium. Their main focus was to demolish what Schwarz (interview, 30 August 2002) calls the 'Denkblockade.'[60] Here, established prejudices against both the medium of 'comics' as such, and manga's 'exotic' origin, became visible. Comics are still often seen as a lesser medium than books (Kaps 2005:6), since they still have to deal with the stereotypical image of being reading material for children and simple-minded people who need pictures in order for them to be able to understand the text (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). These seminars were used, among other things, to inform booksellers about the history of manga, Japanese format specifics or how to display manga in the stores (ibid.).

While the departments were situated on different floors and in separate offices, there was constant interaction between them. The first thing which became apparent during my fieldwork was the amount of different meetings that took place both within departments and between the departments. Half of the work involved in producing the medium consists of successful communication between the different parties involved in its production. Editorial meetings took place at the beginning of every week, magazine meetings at least once a month. There were also development meetings, cover design rounds, competitor monitoring and marketing meetings, to name just a few. Everyone saw that keeping up the flow of information within the company was as vital to a successful publication as keeping to deadlines. Incoming data such as sales figures, reader surveys and developments in media-related trends were also a part of this information flow (both these internal workflows and the incoming information will be looked at more closely in future chapters). Keeping in touch with their core consumer groups, the fans, through message boards and conventions, are also part of this communication flow. As becomes apparent already at this point, the structure of the Comic division was an extremely open system, highly based on a discursive organic structure, both in regards to their internal work colleagues and outside contributors and partners. The number of contractors and

[60] The concept of Denkblockade refers to the mental blocking of unknown materials using stereotypical images to justify the decision to ignore practical possibilities and realities.

freelancers employed on a contractual basis outnumbered the fulltime employees of the core by more than 2:1, not including locally published artists. Yet, at the same time, the superstructure of the conglomerate is bureaucratic in terms of the finances being centralised and the high breakdown of different products being produced by different subsections, all of which employ specialised professionals to carry out the work.

Another way Carlsen Comics kept everybody informed about their products during my fieldwork was the practice of supplying every member of the Carlsen Comics in-house staff with copies of all books published. This way they became familiar with all the company's titles, allowing them to become active spokespersons and brand ambassadors for their employer. While all employees had official working hours, most staff regularly worked extra hours, especially during the weeks in which there were numerous deadlines for books or the two monthly magazines, and when there were big trade fairs and conventions scheduled.

3.2 Tokyopop – A Global Multimedia Provider

Tokyopop sees itself as a globally operating multimedia provider with offices in Los Angeles, Tokyo, Hamburg and Sales Representation in London. Unlike Carlsen Comics, Tokyopop kept expanding their in-house staff during my research and, by 2004, they took up a whole floor of a skyscraper in their L.A. headquarters, organised in an open floor plan setting. While the different departments are clustered and marked by shelving and movable walls, there are only three offices for conferences and meetings. The heads of the department had their workspaces allocated within their departments. During my fieldwork, the company used three-quarters of the floor and the first expansion took place during my fieldwork when a wall was taken down to resize the Production Department. In contrast to Carlsen Comics, the Tokyopop Production Department, which is headed by the VP Production, was Tokyopop's biggest department, since it not only combined the functions of the Editorial and Production Departments, it also employed a high number of in-house graphic designers. In other words, all the employees who do design work, edit texts and manage physical production of the print and audio-visual media are part of this department. Much of the work that is outsourced at Carlsen Comics, such as

scanning and lettering, is regularly performed in-house, explaining the increase in personnel to coincide with the rising output. The function of booking, monitoring and organising print runs was carried out by so called Production Managers and Specialists.

During my fieldwork, Tokyopop tried to re-establish the position of an Editor-in-Chief, but due to the major overhauls the Production Department went through during this time of rapid expansion, the position never manifested. In September 2004, Tokyopop made its second attempt at installing an Editor-in-Chief (ICv2, online, 09 September 2004). With Mike Kiley they chose a company internal, who had been working on their web presence, e-commerce and Quality Assurance mechanisms. Therefore, Tokyopop had now chosen to break down their Production Department into a Production and an Editorial Department. Yet, as before, the restructuring of both departments remained within the same open area workspace (Rae, interview, 25 September 2004). Furthermore, the anime production rested within this department, but was later established as its own department. Other than that, Tokyopop possessed the same departments as Carlsen Comics: Sales & Distribution and Marketing & PR, although information services are a separate department. Due to Tokyopop's multimedia content aspirations, it also sported a Development Department focusing on cross media licensing and the development of television and film licenses. This department, together with the Information Services, was spun off in 2008 to constitute the core of the newly founded Tokyopop Media LLC (ICv2, online, 08 June 2008). This new sister company focuses on the development of film and digital media solutions and maintains the publisher's webpage and social networking pages, furthering the media covered under the Tokyopop label.

An additional dissimilarity between Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop is that, due to Tokyopop's nature as independent publisher without a superstructure that deals with the administrative side of the business, the American publisher also sports their own Finance and Human Resource Departments.

When I returned to Los Angeles in summer 2004, the company had expanded using the whole floor space. Due to the rise in the number of employees, some of the departments had been reallocated within the floor plan. While Tokyopop has offices in three countries (Japan, USA and Germany), I am only familiar with the American office space; yet, published pictures (AnimaniA 2004:26) indicate that the German

Tokyopop office at least is structured along the same lines as the American office, utilising an open floor plan. Possessing offices in three different time zones also influences the internal workflow within the offices. In cases where approval is needed by one office, the company can work around the clock, co-ordinating the workflow to coincide with the business hours in these other time zones. The three offices work with each other; however, their internal structures differ, both due to the kind of employees needed and the local business environment, for example, the differences in retail structures between Germany and the USA which shall be discussed in Chapter Six. In an email interview, Kaps pointed out that the German Tokyopop office operates a departmental breakdown that incorporates both aspects of the American Tokyopop office set-up and the more classically German set-up of dividing Editorial and Production into separate entities (Kaps, interview, 23 September 2004).

While communication also functioned through a variety of regular meetings, at Tokyopop they are focused differently. The weekly flow meetings combined editorial and production-related topics and the development meetings focused on cross media developments. The biggest difference, though, was the monthly company meetings. At the monthly meeting, which is attended by the whole company, every department of the company informs the other sections about recent developments in their area that the other departments should be aware of, thus guaranteeing an informed workforce. The forum was also used to officially introduce newcomers to the whole company and to announce the employee of the month.

3.3 Different Organisational Structures

In terms of the company structure, there are various obvious differences between Tokyopop and Carlsen Comics' make-up, and these do not just include the already mentioned dissimilarity with regards to the way production is, in the case of Carlsen Comics, broken down and partially outsourced, in comparison to Tokyopop's more inclusive approach. While both companies are essentially structured in an organisational 'shamrock' (Handy 1989:70f), their size, reach and focus differ.

Firstly, the ratio of in-house work and work that has been outsourced to contractors differs immensely between both entities. In Carlsen Comics' case, the second (contractual fringe) and third (freelancers) leaves are more defined. It is interesting to

note that Carlsen Comics used to do more work in house as well before the German comic industry crisis in the early 1990s. After the crisis had passed, they decided to employ outside contractors rather than increase the number of employees (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). This decision makes a lot of sense when considering that, unlike the USA, with its hire-and-fire policy where people can be sent home after just a week without any problems, German employment laws call for at least a month of employment and severance packages in case of firings due to redundancies. By employing outside contractors who are paid by the project or job, this problem has been circumvented, thus handing greater flexibility to the publisher to handle different levels of production in a cost efficient manner. However, if and what kind of influences this has on the actual workflow will be discussed in the following two chapters.

Secondly, the personnel needed for production differs due to Tokyopop being far more multimedia-based, but it also influences somewhat the approach to the choice of licenses considered. In Germany, all anime produced by Tokyopop co-exist with the manga licence under the same roof. The same holds true for the US branch with one exception (*Reign* (Chung 2003[1999])). Owing to Tokyopop's approach of developing the same intellectual property over various platforms, from print over film to merchandise and digital content, producing or co-producing their own content holds a greater appeal than it does for Carlsen Comics. There are also toy sub-licences being handled. Hence, the Tokyopop Marketing Department deals not only with print media and print media events, but also toy fairs and multimedia events. By summer of 2004, the Sales and Marketing Department, which also includes the PR section of the company which used to be, both physically and administratively, located in the same section of the company, was broken down into two units.

Thirdly, there is a big difference in the breakdown of departments. Tokyopop's structure is more diversified due to the greater scope, but also includes far more leading senior positions. While Carlsen Comics does differentiate somewhat between senior and junior positions, Tokyopop does, according to my observations differentiate amongst three to four positions, which is interesting since the company as such functions less bureaucratically. This means, though, that there are more big

salaries that need to be paid and more people trying to expand their departments, thus creating competition between the different groups, than in the German case. Tokyopop works with a far more detailed breakdown of the positions and responsibilities filled by its employees, giving everybody a clear job title that both emphasises the tasks related to the job, as well as a notion of hierarchical lines of communication and responsibilities. It is, therefore, not surprising that the increasingly different projects of producing manga and manwha, cine-manga and *mangaesque* titles, have also led to the development of specialised editors who mostly work on one or the other type of assignment. Parker, the company's COO, explained that, especially for a company that is developing as fluidly and often in more than one direction at the same time, it is important to "tell them [the employees] as specifically as possible what their job is" (Parker, interview, 18 February 2003). This is a classical neoconservative approach to organisation, as discussed in Chapter Two, but twisted in a way that allows it to deal with shifts more efficiently. This coincides with the slightly more closed system of production employed by Tokyopop.

Fourthly, Tokyopop's workflow happens to be far more seasonal than Carlsen Comics' workflow, due to the greater accumulation of publications during the summer months, which coincides with America's heaviest convention season (Alnas, interview, 16 July 2003). In contrast, the majority of preparations for conventions and trade fairs are restricted to the Marketing and PR units at Carlsen Comics. At Tokyopop, the production department was heavily involved with these preparations as well. Summer is the most important time for the American manga market, since children are not at school and accordingly have more time to spend on hobbies (Klamert, interview, 17 July 2003). Tokyopop stepped up its American release line-up for these months and books appeared on a monthly instead of two-monthly pattern, leading to tighter deadlines. Part of the work was, however, carried by interns to a greater extent during the summer months than it was at Carlsen Comics.

While both were, during the time of my fieldwork, the major manga suppliers in their specific target markets, they do, however, represent two completely different business structures. At the same time, they both had in common that they were rather small players in a large publishing market dominated by huge conglomerates

(Datamonitor 2002:10; Datamonitor 2003: 11). In the next section I want to consider similarities and differences in the process of localisation between these two small players in the global arena

3.4 Global, Regional, Local, Localisation?

There two very different definitions with regards to what is understood to be localisation. Localisation in an industry context simply connotes the process of preparing a foreign medium for domestic consumption (Pym 2003:1; Mazur 2007:338). In the social sciences, however, the practice of localising also refers to the implementation of text inherent changes to make the text more accessible to the local audience in terms of content, also referred to as domestication (Faiq 2007:214). However, it is not just localisation itself that holds multiple meanings. The terms global and local are also used with multiple meanings in relation to manga publishing. Tokyopop designates itself a 'global' player due to its physical presence in four different countries, spanning three continents, yet normally when research reflects on global media companies it talks about far reaching multinationals and transnationals such as Murdoch's news outfit News Corporation, magazine empires such as Condé Nest or Multimedia Conglomerates such as Viacom or Bertelsmann (e.g. Marjoribanks 2003a,b; McChesney 2003; Tungate 2004).

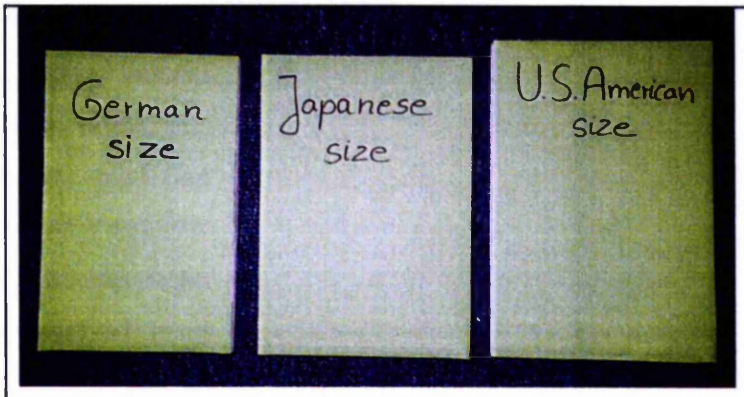
However, Tokyopop's use of 'global' is more in reference to their self-framing in terms of the way they view the media they present: it is their medium that has global origins and global appeal, thus making them global as well. Or, to use another concept: cosmopolitan. In other words, definitions of global as defined by political economy and cultural studies (Cottle 2003:11) exist in parallel and feed off each other. Yet, at the same time, the company describes itself as a localiser, an intermediary for the global culture, a conduit so to speak. They engage in what Appadurai (1996:35ff) describes as local regions, remaking and resignifying cultural imports: someone else's local product becomes a global product for a foreign local market. In the case of Carlsen Comics, who are part of such a transnational multimedia conglomerate, the approach in terms of operation and focus is regional; they are a German language publisher aiming only at that language region.

Croteau and Hoyes (1997:34) pointed out that, of the more than three hundred publishers in the USA, only five take in about half the total revenue. Tokyopop is not

one of those five. Carlsen on the other hand, who are part of what McChesney calls the European 'first tiers' (Bertlesman, Bonnier and Egmont) who account for sixty to seventy percent of the European revenue (2003:32f), strictly speaking are. Thus, while Tokyopop's language is that of one of the big companies, they are by definition a small independent publisher. While Carlsen sells itself as an independent brand, they are covered by the umbrella of Bonnier.

However, as previously mentioned, there is another level on which the discussion of the terms local and global takes place: a cultural discussion. For a long time, popular theories suggested that Japanese media could only become a success because the localisations "tend[ed] to circulate in export markets with their origin effaced" (Allison 2000c:67); therefore, she argues that the texts need to be adapted, rather than translated in order to be successful.[61] When the media became more popular, it was argued that this was the case, since Japanese products had developed in such a way that they were now culturally 'odourless' and, thus, were no longer filled with cultural signifiers that could disturb (Iwabuchi 2002:24). More recently, Jüngst has claimed that current localisations of manga display a "feigned authenticity [that] corresponds to the expectations of the readers" (2004:83). In other words, the exact opposite of what Allison had argued only four years earlier. So how do these notions about the localisation of manga in local markets translate into the actuality of production?

There are some issues with format that are indeed aiming at being authentic, yet are localised, such as book sizes and reading directions. While Japanese manga are published in a variety of sizes, in Japan they do conform in the majority of cases to pre-existing paper size norms. These norms vary between Asia,



3.2 A comparison of standard manga *tankôbon* sizes

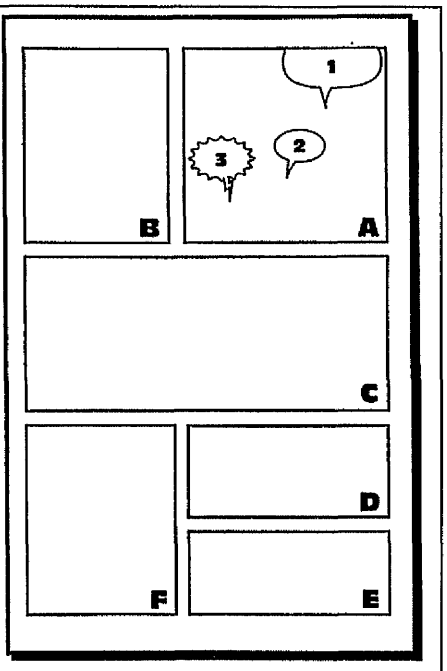
[61] Traditionally, adaptation refers to a transition from one medium to another (book to film for example) or the rephrasing of a text in the same or another language that stays true to the spirit of the original text, if not the words. Translation, on the other hand, aims to transfer a text, as whole as possible, into a new language, staying true to the word wherever possible.

America and Europe, and publishers, if they want to print their products in a cost efficient way, need to adjust manga sizes accordingly. In today's globalised world, paper size norms (DIN) still tend to adhere to regional standards (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002), akin to the difference between the British Pound as compared to the metric pound and so forth. The standardised sizes for books have traditionally varied and, even today, there are still quite a number of differences in print sizes, as defined by the DIN (Deutsches Institut für Normenwahrung) and ISO (International Standards Organisation) norms. Different manufacturers react differently to requests for foreign sizes. For example, while the pan-European publisher Panini managed to have their manga printed in the Japanese size at an Italian printer, the other publishers active in the German market had to opt for an already existing DIN-size (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002; Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003; Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Tokyopop-Germany chose the current American 'standard' manga size used by its sister company in the USA (Kaps, interview, 23 September 2004).[62] Due to this, the non-Panini German manga are a slightly different size; they are less wide than the Japanese volumes. In an international comparison, the picture becomes even more complicated, since continental European publishers use centimetres, while American publishers use inches. Due to these differences, the produced pages need to be resized in order to fit into the new format. If this is not handled carefully, some artwork does get cut (Smith, online, 2005). By sticking to already established printing norms, the publishers assure that the customer is served with formats that they are familiar with and, therefore, are comfortable with.

Secondly, many scholars believe that, as a result of being socialised into their specific cultural settings, people are incapable of completely processing the producer's intended meanings displayed in foreign material (Liebes and Katz 1990 etc.). However, Cooper-Chen (1994:251) proved over ten years ago that the same concept can be popular everywhere when it incorporates just the "right" kind of localising changes, e.g. a few explanations of unknown concepts such as

[62] Something which caused problems in some retail outlets, who tried to squeeze the larger books into the display units for the smaller German format, damaging the books in the process. Nowadays, Tokyopop Germany supplies racks in their format size to retailers.

explanations of reading directions given in translated manga published in the original Japanese reading direction. This is just one example of both physical production issues and the framing they receive. Other, more basic, product specifics are so self-explanatory that concepts do not need any introduction at all. With an annual sales growth of manga of around 100% for four years running in the USA (2001-2005), it is a clear indication that this foreign format is anything but 'inaccessible', as some scholars would claim (c.f. Allison 2000a, b; Levi 1999; Newitz 1994). Instead, the issue is one of contextualisation, a need for introductory information when dealing with new, especially foreign, media forms. Media carriers are indeed enjoying a wider distribution and the media content which reaches the market is more varied, even if it employs the same basic format[63] (Cooper-Chen 1994:251). Jüngst, however, argues that, while images and overall reading directions for the books such as pages, page layout and story flow (macro-reading direction) are indeed Japanese, the verbal micro text (both free floating and within each bubble) continues to be printed in a Western reading direction (2004:101). This, she argues, could be seen as subversive, since it follows neither established cultural norms.



3.3 'How to read manga' instruction can be found on the last inner page of every German and American *tankôbon*.

3.5 Licensing

Licensing and all the different rules that go along with it also pose different challenges to American and German publishers.

As discussed in previous chapters, localised manga have been around for over twenty years in the USA and Germany as well as in France, Italy and Spain. During this period, not just the printing industry has evolved, due to new technologies and

[63] TV has developed certain typical formats usually in the form of a time-genre correlation, c.f. drama series last 42-45 minutes in order to allow for commercial breaks within the 52 min long standard 'TV hour', comedies usually last 24 minutes and feature films are 90 minutes long or longer.

changing ownership structures, but so has the type and scope of manga licensed. Licensing is a vast and complex international business; the annual revenue for 2003 in Germany alone was $198 million (€150 million) (LIMA, PR release, 2003). The three biggest licensing markets in the world are the US, Japan and Germany. In the area of Japanese products abroad, only two noteworthy studies have been conducted in the last few years. Both deal with partial issues surrounding the impact of Japanese character licences abroad: the German *Dragon Ball* analysis, conducted by Götz and Ensinger (2002), and the international co-operated study focusing on the *Pokémon* phenomenon (Tobin 2004). Yet, while both works deal with licensing, their main focus is on inter-media platforms for children and their development, not on the social and organisational dynamics between the different partners involved. This puts a limit on the extent of available research material for the purpose of this thesis.

Local publishers who are interested in acquiring manga licences for their local territory go about the selection process in a variety of ways. In the beginning, it was a small number of people who decided what manga would be published in a Western context. These were either fans turned pros, like the localiser Studio Proteus who worked in co-operation with Japanese publishing off-shoots, or the publishers of local comics, such as Carlsen Comics' Andreas Knigge. Knigge wrote that this encounter with *Akria* (1991[1982]) was one of happenstance (2003:1). He goes on to tell his readers that, due to the black-white-nature of the publication, he had put the book aside, since the comic audience wanted colour. However, he returned to the title the moment Marvel published the coloured American version. Obtaining the licence took a long time and was complicated, since as Knigge recounts, neither side had had any experience with these kinds of Japanese-European licensing deals (ibid.:1). The majority of local publishers had to familiarise themselves with a new business etiquette at the same time that they started to familiarise themselves with manga. The German publisher EMA, for example, paid a Japanologist to train them in proper behaviour and Japanese business culture in order to gain a better understanding of how to work in Japan (Zeidenitz, interview, 07 September 2003).

As can be surmised from this example, a Western publisher who seeks a licence will need different sets of skills to work with different Japanese publishers. There are relationships that, while less formalised than the co-operation between Random

House and Kodansha,[64] seem to be relatively stable, as in the example of Carlsen Comics – Hakusensha or EMA – Shogakukan. Yet even seemingly healthy and stable relationships can break down, as was proven in 2005 by the termination of the long-running relationship between Carlsen and Shueisha. During my fieldwork, Carlsen Comics had a very strong relationship with the Japanese publisher due to the boy-focused anthology *Banzai!* gaining a steady monthly audience. After all, Carlsen Comics' *Banzai!* proved that Japanese-style manga anthologies could be popular in a Western context. The relationship started to be less happy in 2004, when both companies reprioritised their plans for the future, with Shueisha looking to create more international synergy with their multimedia properties and toy and merchandise licences (ANN, online, 15 September 2005), in an attempt to raise the amount of money going to the company rather than the original creators. Carlsen Comics meanwhile refocused on its print publication business (Pfeiffer, online, March 2004). Hence, Shueisha decided to look for a new partner that shared their multimedia approach. This search ended with the first exclusive contract between two publishers in the German market (Shueisha-Tokyopop), and so the manga year 2005 ended with the death of the former prestige project *Banzai!*. Yet there were also companies, such as Kodansha, their Random House co-operation not withstanding, who tried to keep a relative balance of overseas licensees. At the end of 2005, Kodansha and Shogakukan, two of the earliest sources of overseas licences, were still the two biggest sources for manga licences, although Shueisha and Kadokawa have been gaining ground steadily. A second tier of publishers comprising Hakusensha, Media Works, Wani Books and Akita Shôten, have gained a steady presence in the market. Around thirty-five smaller companies or multimedia outlets have entered the fray as well, mostly in the last two to three years. Sometimes a shift in target buyer groups can backfire for licence sources, as is the case with Futubasha. One of the earliest Japanese publishers to be approached for licences at the end of the 1980s, the international interest in their titles has waned due to the shift towards more juvenile titles and publishers who specialise in these. Each company is defined by their own style and the demands it makes on the localiser in regards to the property that is being licensed.

[64] The international Bertelsmann Media Group, of which Radom House is a part, signed a mutual publishing co-operation with Kodansha in 2003. All international units of Bertelsmann are granted first pick access to Kodansha material for publication outside of Japan and Kodansha has the same right in regards to Bertlesmann material in Japan (Middaugh, interview, 20 July 2003).

My research showed that today the genre of localised manga covers almost all major genre of story-manga. However, while many genres work equally well in most Western countries, there are a few, more specific, genres whose appeal is far more local, be it in Japan or different Western countries. The multilingual licence database (up till 2005) I constructed indicates that Italians seem to love sports manga - everything to do with sports can be found in an Italian translation. In comparison, by 2005, there were only soccer and dance manga in Germany after the basketball manga was discontinued due to poor sales figures.[65] The same is true for France: sports manga are almost non-existent. In the USA, street car racing, basketball, tennis, dance and ballet are present; however, it seems that more titles might follow now that Viz has begun, and in 2006,Tokyopop Germany started to translate several of Shueisha's 'goal oriented' *Shônen Jump* titles.[66] Clearly, not all topics work in the same way for each territory, making it important for the local publishers to know their target audience well in order to build a portfolio of titles that will be popular.

Today, local publishers pay attention to what is popular both in Japan and other overseas markets and what has sold successfully in their territory in the past. That way, they can monitor local fan activity, collect information materials from Japanese licensors and browse existing Japanese publications. Fans try very actively to influence which titles publishers will license, using internet forums and web pages showcasing their favourite manga. They also produce wish lists of titles they would like to see published in highly-frequented forums. Here, the 'author' phenomenon often plays an important part. If one 'author' is popular, the readers demand more of his/or her titles (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). Consequently, the companies usually acquire them since this kind of popularity, as with novels, guarantees a secure bottom line in sales figures.

Materials that have thus been deemed as interesting are then circulated between different departments within the publisher: sometimes one person is asked to prepare a short presentation on a title; sometimes everybody just lets the material make an

[65] This is bound to change in the near future after Shueisha signed an exclusive contract with Tokyopop Germany in July 2005. The first titles that have been announced seem to indicate a similar line-up to the American *Shônen Jump Advanced* titles.

[66] *Shônen Jump* is one of the main weekly manga magazines in Japan, published by Shueisha. It has been for many years now the highest selling magazine with sales figures of 3 million copies a week (Gravett 2004:14)

impression on them. In all the cases, however, the titles that are considered as realistic possibilities are reviewed in terms of content (my research shows decisions are mostly based on the first three to four volumes) and possible market value. Editorial and Sales are the two departments that have the greatest influence at that point, although lawyers are also sometimes consulted if the title presents possible legal issues. These discussions also allow American companies to assign a possible future age restriction to the book (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). The assigned age rating often determines the size of the print run and the possible revenue the title can create, again influencing the amount of money the licensee will be willing to pay in order to acquire the licence (Ervin, interview, 17 July 2003; Levy, interview, 07 February 2003).

After the localiser has decided on titles they are interested in, they take their 'shopping list' to Tokyo where they inquire whether the licence is available and what the conditions in terms of content, cost and duration would be. If the price is within the financial margin with which the publisher feels comfortable, a bid is placed for that title. This is a counter offer, which can be lower than the Japanese estimate if the publisher feels the price is inflated; it can also go up if a bidding war starts between different localisers for the same title in the localiser's territory. German manga localisers often avoid these by leaving certain artists or genre to their competitors and then receive the same courtesy in return. The American market situation is usually more competitive. Most licence agreements are, or at least partially contain, revenue-related arrangements (Kawaguchi 2003:47). Current manga licences are given usually for a finite amount of time, and during this period of time, the licensee can reprint the books if the need occurs (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). After this, the licence is negotiable again and if not renewed, the title can be picked up by another publisher who will publish a new translation.[67]

This does not mean that Japanese companies are selling all the licences their overseas partners would like to hold. Nor does it mean that overseas partners are going to pick up all the titles the Japanese companies would like to see licensed

[67] Examples for books that have been re-issued in new translations from different publishers are: the action-fantasy *Bastard* (Hagiwara 1988) and Miyazaki's post-apocalyptic drama *Nausicaä* (1992) in Italy, the fantasy adventure *Berserk* (Miura 1989) in France, the historical samurai adventure *Lone Wolf and Cub/Kozure Ôkami*, and the science-fiction stories of *Silent Möbius* (Asamia 1991) and *Striker/Spriggan* (Takashige and Minagawa 1989) in Germany and *Akira* and the martial arts story *Fist of the North Star* (Buronson and Hara 1983) in the USA.

abroad. More recently, both the power of the Japanese publishers to pressure licensees and to make specific demands have increased (anon, interview, 2005). This increase in power is rooted in past successes and the competitiveness of a growing number of overseas publishers. More and more publishers are interested in manga licences at a time when the availability of successful backlog titles that are still unlicensed is decreasing.

Furthermore, the bigger Japanese manga publishers have recently been pushing for exclusive contracts, such as Shueisha holds with VIZ in the USA and Tokyopop in Germany, or strong partnerships, as between Kodansha and the local units of the Random House group. This synergy will eventually lead to an increased direct involvement of Japanese publishing houses in local markets, pushing their properties in a cross media and merchandise strategy (ICv2, online, 08 December 2005). Local publishers not interested in following this game plan become sidelined in favour of those who are willing to do so. This development was facilitated to this magnitude due to the heightened competitiveness in local markets, where market growth, while still healthy, has slowed down (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005; Kaps 2005), with competition having increased at the same time. Much as with books, with regards to bestsellers or films, when it comes to blockbusters, potential bestselling properties are crucial: they make a publisher stand out from the crowd due to press coverage, display and sales space allocated, as will be discussed later in Chapters Six and Seven.

Licensing and its practice have changed tremendously over the years. Originally, there was a fixed price system in place, which then evolved into a system that introduced percentage-based fees to supplement lower basic fees (Bakker 2008:347). This reduced the risk for the licensor and, were the title a hit, increased the royalties of the licence source. With greater trafficking of media across the globe, the copyright areas and time spans were defined more clearly in order to allow the licence source to grant multiple licences. While media companies find grey imports[68] of niche media or the selling of singular copies of popular titles generally undesirable, they do not waste organisational resources tracking these down. The costs such a crack down would incur would be higher than the possible income obtained from

[68] 'Grey Imports' is a term commonly used to refer to (small numbers of) licensed goods being imported in a territory not covered by the licence. Unlike in the case of a black market piracy copies, the original producer does receive royalties from the product sold.

legal copies. However, the situation changes the moment a copyrighted former niche property becomes a success and the export into areas outside the licence footprint is institutionalised by a third party that is not authorised. When a media company decides to pursue those violating their licence, it can even have a knock-on effect on other properties.

Such a subsequent impact happened to the American manga localisers after the 2002 Frankfurt Book Fair. There, the distributor Diamond Comics had been called regarding a licence violation with regards to the *Transformers* property, owned by Hasbro. Hasbro had granted a variety of sublicences to comic book publishers to produce franchised comics for the property. The Canadian publisher Dreamwave held only the Northern American licence (Newsarama, online, 01 November 2002). The British territory would later be covered by Panini and Titan Books and other parts of Europe would be covered solely by Panini (Steve-o, online, 08 June 2005). At the time, Diamond Comics' monthly order pre-catalogue *Preview* was used by comic stores world wide to order materials, materials that up until that Frankfurt Book Fair, Diamond, unless specifically informed otherwise, shipped to the retailer in question regardless of the territory. Usually, this was not a problem ,since original creations outnumbered licensed goods. However, with the rise of trademarked characters, such as *Transformers*, and locally granted licences, such as manga and anime, becoming big sellers, the situation shifted. Hasbro, which owns the sole right to grant *Transformers* sub-licences in Western countries, considered the grey imports with which Diamond was flooding the market as a threat to their own licensing prices (Newsarama, online, 01 November 2002). In their view, Diamond was eroding the potential market for local material and thus reducing the price a local licence would be worth. As a consequence, they ordered Diamond to remove all *Transformers* material from their booth (Newsarama, online, 01 November 2002). It was only after Dreamwave and Hasbro renegotiated the licence that the comics could be shipped overseas again from May 2003 onward (Seibertron, online, 08 May 2003).

After the book fair was over, Diamond restructured the listing of the properties they distributed. They limited their overseas shipments to original properties and those that held a licence for the overseas territories in question. Some publishers, also aware of the money a licence violation could cost them, started to limit their books'

reach (ICv2, online, 19 November 2002). Both these moves had the intended consequence of clamping down on the access to a majority of illegal products for a while. This changed policy of screening licence coverage meant new challenges for the publishers with regards to licensing. The policies followed by the American manga publishers differed, Tokyopop for the most part already held licences covering the UK. Other publishers took some time deciding on how to proceed, but by 2005, they had mostly resolved the issue in three different ways: some, like Broccoli or Central Park Media, decided to leave the international market behind. Others, such as the Random House group approached each territory with its own office and label, such as Del Rey Manga in the USA, *tanoshimi* in Britain (Random House, PR Release, 2006) and Heyne Manga in Germany. Of those three, Del Rey was preparing in 2004 to extend their licences in order to publish within the whole global distribution network of Bertelsmann/Random House (Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004). The third party, led by Viz, started to grant re-print sub-licences to local publishers (ICv2, online, 15 September 2005).

German publishers, unlike their American counterparts, normally buy a licence for the German language region (Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and some local parts in Belgium and Denmark). This is possible and feasible due to the smaller number of native speakers outside the German national territory as such, and the relative geographically condensed location of the market, which is seen as one area in the multi-copyright area of Europe (McCormac, online, 16 August 1997).

This meant that the UK and other non-American retailers needed to find alternative ways of procuring books, thus making grey imports more expensive for the consumers. In 2005, different titles with the same original price of $9.99 (€8.02) could cost, depending on the publisher and retailer, between £6.50 and £8.50 (€9.56 and €12.50) in Britain reflecting their 'grey status' as far as copyright issues are concerned. The legal reprints of Viz titles, on the other hand, were at a £4.99 (€7.34) (The Bookstandard 2005) and Random House's new label were at a £5.99 (€8.81) (Random House 2006) price-point. Still, small retailers in the UK regularly have to buy a wide variety of US manga titles from other retailers or smaller, more expensive distributors in the US in order to be able to stock at least the bestselling manga titles from other publishers, thus reducing the profit that the retailer can make with these books due to the diminished profit margin. Retailers in this situation are driven by a market that continues to demand manga from all publishers, and for the most part, is

unaware of the underlying way in which the management of licence contracts has changed. In order to not lose their customers, in the same way their American comic book store owner colleagues have, they have to join 'the game' as a means of self-preservation.

As can be seen through these introductory comparisons of the two publishers, there are significant differences in their broader organisational structures, as well as the environment they relate to. Do these differences have significant influences on the actual workflow of a localised manga, or do these differences mean less on a micro level due to the inherent work that needs to be carried out to translate manga?

3.6 A Multitude of Hands and Voices

The sheer complexity of the relationships between tasks and the interdependence of all areas concerned can be perplexing. In an ideal case scenario, the production cycle of a translated manga *tankôbon* takes about six to ten months from start to finish, even with the aid of new digital development tools (e.g. graphic programmes for layout, digital printers) (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002; Verdini, interview, 22 March 2003). The actual production timeline depends on whether the publisher runs on a bi-monthly or quarterly release schedule and the amount published in each singular publication, meaning chapters in anthologies or whole books (Horn, interview, 25 January 2005; Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). The production period involves every action from handing a title to the translator and graphic designers until the point at which it is branded, marketed and placed on the shelves at various retail outlets. As will be discussed, there are various points in time during which the planned schedule for each title can collapse. Reasons for delays in the latter stages of manufacturing and shipping are largely outside the control of the publisher, leading to delays in the titles' street date, possible loss of allocated shelf space and, thus, loss of revenue.

This chapter will follow an international stylised 'ideal' workflow. As the word 'ideally' already suggests, this is how a workflow, theoretically, should work. This workflow, constructed to be similarly workable internationally, is based on the fact that the medium's localisation requirements are universal, such as technological and

functional aspects dictated by the medium itself. Modern data transfer has changed communication between all the parties involved and also the 'shipping' time for materials. Deadline placement within the workflow has changed accordingly. Thus, workflow pattern in all economic organisations which utilise digital work solutions have changed in a similar fashion (Marjoribanks 2003:59). This change has, however, been amplified in the comics and manga industries, since it transformed in a major way the skill sets required of employees. Additionally digital transfer has allowed publishers to access a wider pool of external contractors and freelancers, since it rids companies of past geographical constraints; increasing the potential workforce from which the companies can draw their offsite talent. The workflow is largely determined by the needs of the medium, and secondly, by the organisational structures, and it can be *structured* along a flow pattern. In the broadest sense, manga fall into the category of localised visual and textual print media. They have already passed through an original organised production process in Japan before they cross international borders (e.g. Kinsella 2000; Schodt 1997). These publishers represent the second flow through the production process. What does 'workflow' mean in this context? In broad terms, it refers to all the different stages including translation a manga goes through until it is displayed for sale at a retail point in Germany or the USA.

Once a licence is acquired by a localiser, many production steps happen simultaneously. Various departments meet and agree upon a local publication date, based on the time the Editorial and Production Departments are going to need for the localisation, the already scheduled sales programme and possible marketing back-up. The series' editors are assigned, according to availability and expertise in specific genres. At both publishers researched there were editors who predominately dealt with books focused on either girls or boys, some were predominantly assigned romantic comedies and drama, and others focused on action and adventure. Once an editor has taken over a title, he starts setting up a string of in-house employees and freelancers who he approaches about the various production steps. Based on the date of publication the Production Department checks printers for available slots that will guarantee the book's on-time shipping. Eventually, the license is officially announced to the public, either at conventions, or through the press of the publisher's online forum by the PR or Editorial Departments.

The first step an editor takes is usually the hiring of a freelance translator. The returned translation of a first volume is usually accompanied with a character bible and other important information, which is merged with the already established property bibles. These so-called 'property bibles', usually set up as soon as a license is acquired, include all types of information deemed relevant with regards to every title. They constantly grow throughout the process of localisation as new information is added by editors, designers, marketing and sales representatives. When they are originally set up, they include information on a title's genre, volume number, price points, *manga-ka* and Japanese publisher, as well as a short synopsis of the series. During the course of production, character and volume information are added, as well as, in many cases, a style guide that specifies language, font and art use. These property bibles help all involved to create a consistency within a given title, even as it changes hands and departments on its way through production.

Today, much of the work is carried out via digital media. Source materials are scanned or transferred from film and digital configuration into the company's preferred graphical format. If censorship of imagery, story or specific text bubbles is believed to be required or essential for publication, the solutions need to be discussed with the licensor. Who has the final say as to whether a title can be censored depends on the original copyright holder, may it be the Japanese artist, his legal heirs or the original publisher. The actual suggestions for solutions happen at this point of the production process, when the image is being reworked. Once this work is completed, a security copy is put on file for future reference and the clean pages are placed aside until the text is finished. The graphic designers and their work will be featured more in-depth in Chapters Four and Five.

During this time, Sales presents preliminary information on the title to the sales representatives and distributors, such as possible price points, number of volumes, genre, etc. Introducing future titles, their planned age ratings and genre tags to the people working in the field helps the publisher, when combined with information of past sales data to calculate the print runs and the format of the publication. If a title is promising to be popular with high print run numbers, extras (such as colour pages or special covers) can still be discussed with Editorial and Marketing, leaving enough time for the publisher to ask the licence source for permission or additional artwork.

Once the final release title is agreed upon, the graphic designer prepares the logotype in conjunction with the title page of the first volume. The logo and the cover are presented to the Japanese licensor for approval and then transferred onto mock-ups for the use of the Sales Department or Marketing at conventions.

Once the final text document has returned to the editor's desk, it is handed on to a letterer, together with the clean artwork. The letterer implements the text into the previously cleaned artwork during the layout phase, creating once more a document that contains both visual and textual components. While in the past most lettering was done by hand, modern publishers usually employ digital means of text transfer. Once text and artwork have merged, the preliminary manga, either in form of a digital copy or bluelines, is handed over to a copy-editor who checks the copy for margin errors, omissions or other mistakes that might have occurred during lettering. When the copy is approved by the copy-editor, it is cleared by the title's editor to go into print. The role of the editors will be focused on in Chapter Five.

At this point in time, the book leaves Editorial behind and moves completely into the responsibility of the Production Department. The Production Department has, by now, booked the aforementioned print run and transfers the complete digital data to said printer. Usually, due to manga publishers shipping a certain amount of different titles at the same time, these are printed together at the same printer to save money, both due to the higher volume of material printed and with the intent to streamline the shipping from the plant. To supervise the print runs and to check for possible problems, the Production Department usually sends one of their people on site.

At this point, PR and Marketing have not only supplied the property with a tag line, but have booked advertisements and sent out Public Relations packs, as well as information for editorials. Marketing budgets for publishers are often set for the whole year and work in quarterly segments. The amount of money that will be spent on a title stands in correlation to the predicted success and to the volume number. Usually first volumes receive a higher marketing budget in order to allow for the possibility of generating more publicity. To that end, the Marketing Department often organises marketing props and give-aways that are scheduled to arrive in shops in time for the

'street date'[69] of the title in question or at conventions to further create support for the property. The goals and workings of the Marketing Department will be elaborated on in Chapter Six. Once the press releases have reached their intended targets, the PR Department prepares to answer further questions, depending on the publication's background, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Once the Sales Department has been informed that the book has left the printers, they take over the management of the physical property from the Production Department. Over the last three to six months they will have collected orders for the title, which they ship out with help of their distributor. After the title goes on sale, the Sales Department monitors its sales numbers and sell-through ratios at the different retail outlets. Monitoring these numbers not only gives them insights as to which titles, genre and format sell where, but also helps them to set print runs for future volumes of the same title. Additionally, it creates an awareness of when they need to contact the Production Department to order a reprint and thus guarantee that the market does not dry up. The feedback they receive with regards to the previously published titles in return informs the kind of titles that are licensed by the publisher. They thus present not only the end point of the production cycle, but also exert an instigating influence on future cycles. The web of relationships that make up the workings of the Sales Department will be elaborated on in Chapter Six.

After a period of about six to eight months, the translated manga arrives in the sales outlets where the local audience gains access to the localised product. While the front cover only lists the Japanese *manga-ka*, just like a book only lists the author, the inside credits of a manga lists a huge number of people who have also been involved in its production. My research shows that before a Western reader holds the current translated manga in their hands, it has gone through at least ten other sets of hands that have all left their imprint on the book in one way or the other. Furthermore, the cultural environment leads to "differing influences and constraints, both material and discursive, intended and unintended, structurally determined and culturally mediated, embedded within the moment of production" (Cottle 2003:5). So, it is not just a question of looking at the work being carried out, but also how the organisational and broader culture specific environments have influenced the

[69] The street date', or the EVK (Erstverkaufstag) in German, is the date on which the title is officially on the market for a customer to buy.

localisation. The next three chapters will focus on the actual people carrying out the localisation, and their constant negotiation between creative expression, necessity-induced decisions and the rules and limitations an organisational structure of communal production requires in order to function.

Chapter 4
Divided States – the Text and the Image

This chapter will focus on the textual and pictorial localisation processes, which happen independently from each other while the components are with the translators, re-writers and the graphic artists responsible for preparing the materials and designing the covers. The artists and writers/translators have no contact with each other during the production and normally neither side is involved with the professional realm of the other (Torres 2007:139): for each of them, only the text or the image is relevant. Furthermore, the final decision as to whether and how their work is used rests with the editor or licensor. This set up is not unusual for this sort of workforce, normally made up of freelancers, as research by Lutz and Collins on the production of *National Geographic* shows (1993:70ff).

Since the text of a manga is one of, if not the most, continuous threads in terms of the creative input being funnelled by organisational rules into a product-specific format, it is vital to start by focusing on it, especially considering the first part of the physical localisation process: the translation. I argued in Chapter Two that a translation is determined not only by the text itself, but also by the translator who undertakes the actual translation task. This chapter will, therefore, pay attention to both. However, translators are not the only ones who handle the texts before they reach the consumers; others who also work actively with the text are re-writers, copy-editors and editors, each of whom is an individual influenced by the organisation, its outlooks and goals. The re-writers, like the translators, are completely text-oriented and will be the focus of the second sub-chapter. Copy-editors and editors, on the other hand, will be considered in the following chapter. Then, in the last sub-section, the chapter will focus on the graphic work carried out parallel to these textual tasks. For now, however, this chapter will follow the process of localisation by beginning, much as any given manga localisation does, with the first group to work on its text: the translators.

4.1 The Translators

As discussed in Chapter Two, there is an abundance of research on translation as such and the practice of actively translating. Such works also differ extensively in what they define as a translation: from the interpretive reading of a foreign text as a form of visually guided self-translation (e.g. Sabucco 2003), through the notion that a translator moves the text into a type of expression of a distinct non-local cultural sphere forever situated between an original and a reproduction (e.g. Kelly 2007), to the assumption that a translated text, when done properly, to all intents and purposes becomes the canonised representation of the original, equal to it as an independent piece of art (e.g. Benjamin 1973; Eco 2004).

The question arises of where the agency rests and what is meant by 'agency' in this situation. I mentioned earlier that, due to the nature of the organised setting of the translation there are rules and guidelines that automatically frame the translation in technical terms, as we will see in more detail when we are looking at its execution. As I will also discuss, the data I collected does not support an overall politicised or power driven agenda on the part of the translators. Thus, I decided to approach translation first and foremost as an actual practice that is being carried out, in other words, literally, the translation of text from one language into another language. Only after assessing the actual workflow and organisational framing of this task will I go further and ask if some sort of cultural motivation enters the texts in a manner actively intended by the translator.

4.1.1 Choosing Translators

Translators are chosen in an early phase of each project. The translator is then supplied with a copy of the original Japanese manga or photocopies of the pages, which he labels throughout with numbers assigned to all the textual components that he translates from Japanese into the target language. The format and the style of the translation are agreed upon with the publisher beforehand. The translator not only has to be familiar with the medium itself and comfortable of dealing with its specific quirks, such as onomatopoeia,[70] often referred to as sound words, humour, and genre-specific text styles, but he also has to work well with the physical restraints of

[70] Sounds and emotions in comics rendered in visualized verbal text, such as 'bang', 'autsch', ratarata' and so forth.

time and space. Thus, the choice of trying to pick the right kind of translators for every manga presents a complex and multi-layered problem for the organisation, informed by price, expertise and availability. To that end, most manga localisers have a pool of regular freelance translators from which to choose. In organisational terms these translators are members of what Charles Handy defines as the 'third leaf', the flexible labour force, of his shamrock model (1989:74). They are employed from project to project as the need arises, while remaining free economic agents at all times. It is quite common for one and the same translator to work for more than one publisher simultaneously (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004). Their contracts bind them only to the text they are translating and translators shift in and out of working with publishers (Olligschläger, interview, 02 January 2005). The first question we have to ask ourselves is how and based on what criteria does an organisation, like a publisher, select its freelance translators?

In the majority of cases, new translators are entered into a company's freelancer pool after applying to be listed and supplying a satisfactory trial translation. The candidates are supplied with a passage of an unpublished manga, which they have to translate. The company usually asks a trusted translator or a Japanese native speaker inside the company to check the translation (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Freelancers are used to self promoting their work and publishers are thus often approached by translators who offer their services, either through job applications or through personal introductions at fairs and conventions (Lohmann, interview, 27 August 2002; Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). As I was able to observe, the latter approach is often used by fans, who are working on illegal *scanlations* or *fansubs*,[71] and who want to move into doing legal translations of the medium they consume. The publishers also actively recruit freelancers; both Tokyopop and Carlsen Comics advertised through mailing lists aimed at, for example, Japanese language students (Tsuji, questionnaire, August 2002). When Heyne, a German publisher, entered the market, they contacted translators who were already in the business of translating manga for their competitors, as a means of engaging experienced translators (Olligschläger,

[71] *Scanlations* are digitalised Japanese manga that fans clean of the Japanese text and then replace with their own translation. *Fansubs* are anime that fans have expanded through the inclusion of subtitles. The predominant languages in which both these fan productions can be found are English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Arabic and Chinese. Since fans have not paid a licence fee, these productions are neither legal nor sanctioned by the Japanese copyright holders.

interview, 02 January 2005). Its American sister publisher, Random House, approached translators with which their new head of manga had previously worked at his old publishing company (Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004).

There are various factors that are important for a publisher when considering possible translators, some of which are universal for all jobs requiring commercial translations. First of all, a publisher is interested in a translation's technical correctness. Editors argue that it is easier to edit a proper 'dry' translation than a faulty creative one (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). Consequently, publishers mostly look for a correct use of grammar, how fluently the translation reads and how understandable the text is (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Gürtler, interview, 21 August 2002). What experienced literary translators consider the 'art' of translation is considered less important here. As will become clear, this is partially due to a lack of extra-linguistic knowledge on the part of some of these translators and partially because of the constraints of time, money and even the medium itself. Publishers also pay close attention to how well the translator maintains the theme of the book and, last but not least, the speed of completing the translation is taken into account (Gürtler, interview, 21 August 2002; Ross, interview, 07 December 2003).

Once translators are approved, they are entered into the freelancer pool. However, not all new translators make it past their first actual manga translation. They may stumble, for example, over the tight deadlines imposed on them (Hautog, interview, 27 August 2003; Reyes, interview 15 July 2003). The ability to deal with this is one of the major requirements the publisher asks of its translators (Rehm, interview, 21 August 2002; Klamert, interview, 24 January 2003). It is not unusual for even very skilled translators to lose their jobs if they are not capable of keeping to deadlines (Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004). When faced with a choice, a company is more likely to hire somebody who is technically correct in their translations, but more difficult for the re-writers to understand because of a tendency to translate too literally, often even keeping the Japanese grammatical structures intact, because that person has the ability to deal with stress-related situations, rather than hiring a more easily understandable translator who is always late with the translations (Forbes, questionnaire, March 2003; Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). After all, such technically accurate but rough translations can always be re-written.

The best translators actually do not need a re-writer; in their case, a copy editor, who checks spelling and text consistency, will suffice (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004; Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004). While this is the ideal case, in my experience, this holds true only for some translations in the manga business, as I was able to observe during my field studies. Some examples of shortcomings shall be discussed in more detail later on. Truly skilled translators are rare in the manga market, due to the low pay the publishers offer in order to keep the overall price of the manga down. Depending on the publisher, American novice translators received less than $10 per translated Japanese manga page in 2004 (Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004). Translators' pay structures actually represent one of the biggest organisational differences between Germany and the USA. American custom dictates that translators predominantly get paid per single printed Japanese manga page, while in Germany, translators are paid by 'Normseiten'. These standardised pages include a clearly specified amount of text,[72] so in the American case, it does not matter if the translator has a text light game-adventure text, such as *Digimon* (Hongo 2002) or a text heavy book, such as the romantic comedy *Love Hina* (Akamatsu 1998). Just to compare, I counted around 5,730 words in the first English volume of *Digimon*, while the *Love Hina* (volume 8) translation came in at about 15,950 words. Yet an American translator would get paid exactly the same amount of money for both unless the publisher decided to offer a bonus. In Germany, with the payment based on the amount of actual text that has been translated, the translator of the longer book would earn substantially more. This policy is standard in the European Union, where specifications for 'norm pages' exist and the translator unions set guidelines for standard wages.[73] Carlsen Comics' norm page consists of thirty-two lines with seventy-five letters in Courier 10 (Olligschläger, interview, 02 January 2005) while Tokyopop-Germany uses a slight variation at thirty lines with seventy-five letters (ibid.). Furthermore, the translators are often provided by manga publishers with guidelines to which they have to adhere. These guidelines range from a single page on layout to small booklets outlining preferred spelling and grammar guidelines, as I was able to compare. Tokyopop, for example, breaks down the guidelines into two parts; the first part (*Translation Instructions*, Ross and Reyes 2003) is specifically for the translators, detailing how they should format and label

[72] Translated page refers to a normal DIN A4 page, which follows certain layout criteria; it states size and font and the amount of letters per line.
[73] See for example: www.literaturübersetzer.de for Germany.

their translations, while the second part (*Text Styles*, Ross 2003) is also used by re-writers and copy-editors. The *Text Styles* guide specifies the type of work done by each person in terms of the textual responsibilities. Afterwards, it focuses on the company's style choices with regards to spelling, punctuation and syntax. The German publishers EMA (Hoffmann 2002) and Planet Manga (Panini 2003) mix both formatting and style in the same document. The biggest difference between the two regarding their in-house style is that EMA (Hoffmann 2002:1) follows the new German spelling rules while Panini specifies the old ones as standard (2003:1). Either way, all three sets of rules provide translators with clear guidelines as to how they are supposed to translate and then label their translation, thus putting limits on personal style and expression.

Most seasoned manga translators point out that they developed the technical translation skills first while other skills, such as following the regulations imposed on their work and ways of leaving their creative mark, were developed later on (Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004; Hirasawa, interview, September 07 2003; Olligschläger, interview, 03 September 2003). These other skills include the realisation that both the chosen form of dramatization and the rhythm of speech influence how a text reads and should accordingly be mirrored in the translation (Hirasawa, interview, 07 September 2003). Being able to combine the technical translation with the mood and intent of the author is the goal of a translator (Zeidenitz, interview, 07 September 2003), such as, for example, being able to carry the humour over into the target language (Olligschläger, interview, 03 September 2003). More to the point, manga is more complicated to translate than most other media since the number of words and expressions that cannot be found in a dictionary are far higher. Advertisement jingles, subcultural expressions and pop culture references are scattered throughout the titles and prove to be a challenge. Just translating these directly will end in the loss of any double meaning or humour (Zeidenitz, interview, 07 September 2003). Again it is Eco who appears to be one of the few writers that is aware of this kind of difficulties in his own writing and he notes that he "make(s) translators aware of allusions that, for many reasons, might escape them. For this reason... [I] usually send... [my] translators pages and pages of notes about... [my] various undetectable quotations" (Eco 2004:117). Manga translators generally do not have this kind of help from the source of the text. Unless a Japanese

reader has compiled a nitpicker's guide, as can also often be found for Western fandom-dominated genre shows, such as *Star Trek* or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, the translator has to find his way through the cultural maze and find a creative rendering in his own language while keeping meanings intact. Cultural translation advocates would be likely to view a translated text that leaves out such expressions as a form of oppression of Japanese culture; my research clearly indicates that it either stems from too little time spent on the text for economic reasons or because the translator lacks the appropriate knowledge.

This brings me to the central dilemma of translation as work: while a company at all times needs to keep their choices informed by economic considerations, they also have to employ skilled translators if they want to be successful. The situation of manga publishers is further complicated by the relative lack of qualified translators due to the low level of skilled Japanese-English and Japanese-German translators available (Forbes, interview, 11July 2003; Zeidenitz interview, 07 September 2003). This makes a good translator all the more valuable in the market as well as expensive and often out of reach for manga publishers.

Another point that sets manga translators apart is that a large number do not claim the target language as their mother tongue. In other fields of translation, the majority of translators do hail from the target language. As mentioned in Chapter Two, many schools of translation prefer this arrangement due to the presumed higher proficiency and supposed creative writing skills of the translator. However, my research, based on many interviews, questionnaires and the additional biographical information volunteered by publishers, indicates that the language background of manga translators is more diverse. Based on the range of different names I counted in the manga published until 2004,[74] the forty-one translators whose language background was sampled for this research constituted about one third of the total translators employed in manga translation in Germany and the USA at that time. The sample's

[74] I listed every translator I came across in the American and German publications I accessed, via publishers, libraries, conventions, stores and friends and counted a total of one hundred and two American, British and German translators involved in manga translation between the early 1990s and 2004. In the case of the German translators there are six past translators who translated from English and French into German; hence they are not included in the sample. However, due to the fact that not all material was available, some slippage exists.

translators fell into three different categories; they were either native speakers of the target (46.34%) or source language (34.13%) or bilingual in both (17.07%).[75]

My research also shows that the ranks of manga translators span from college students to highly qualified translators with specific backgrounds in genres and scholarly disciplines. Yet, as I was able to conclude from my sample, due to the pay most translators receive in this business, students outnumber professional translators. On the whole, this would normally be seen as a negative factor; in the case of manga this might, however, actually often improve the creative quality of the translation due to the students' closer proximity to current cultural trends in Japan. This stems from their special interest in its culture, as I was told by the translators themselves (Bockel, interview, 23 July 2002; Olligschläger, interview, 03 September 2003). On the other hand, not all of these students have the experience necessary or the endurance needed to produce a good and tight translation[76] under the pressure of a deadline, especially if they have to pay heed to the company's preferred styles of rendering and formatting. Still, it is not just the style of the company that the translators have to satisfy; the text's inherent challenges also need to be taken into account.

4.1.2 Manga Text Styles

Editors usually choose a translator from the company pool; nevertheless, publishers sometimes feel that somebody more specialized is required for certain texts. After all, a proper understanding and subsequent local rendering of a manga's text style is the translator's first overall task when he receives a new title. My research shows that some translators are more familiar and comfortable with translating *shônen*, while others are more specialized in the *shôjo*-style. As with any other form of media, different manga genres are known for a specialised type of language that is often seen to be part of a larger category, such as science fiction, crime or comedy. Therefore, finding an adequate translator usually improves the flow and feeling of authenticity of the translation (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Klötzer, interview, 27

[75] These percentages are based on a total sample of forty-one translators working for seven of the publishers in Germany and the USA as of 2004. The missing 2.44% constitute the minority whose mother tongue is neither the source nor the target language.

[76] Tight translation refers to a translation that not only contains all the basic information of the original, but also keeps the space available for the text.

August 2003). A title such as the action comedies *Real Bout High School* (Saiga and Inoue 2000) and *FLCL* (Gainax 2000) requires somebody who is comfortable with youth jargon; a typical *mecha* title, such as *GGundam* (Yatate *et al.* 1999) or a sci-fi story, such as *Planets* (Yukimura 2001), on the other hand, needs somebody who is comfortable with (pseudo) technical jargon. Planet Manga decided to hire a specialist in Japanese history to translate the historical samurai epics *Kozure Ôkami – Lone Wolf and Cub* (Koike and Kojama 2002[1970]) in order to convey all the historical connotations correctly (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). This is a case where the publisher felt the need to search for a translator outside their normal parameters.

Content wise, a *shônen-* or *shôjo-esque* translation of the same text renders the same facts; it is the language they are framed in that varies. Most of the time, the difference becomes apparent in the amount of text used. In Japanese, feminine language tends to be more polite and, therefore, the sentences are longer (Maynard 1997:58). To take a very basic example, a translator can already render a simple and informal verb form such as '*iku*' found in a *shônen* text as 'go' or 'move it', placing a different emphasis on the word within the broader narrative. The same verb, in a *shôjo* manga, would usually be rendered in a far more polite form such as '*ikimasu*', '*irasshaimasu*', '*itte imasu*', '*ikenasai*' or even '*mairimasu*' leading to many more possible translations, such as 'go', 'please go', 'would you be so kind as to move on', 'be so kind as to go', 'going' or 'will you not go'. This example shows that lexical knowledge about the verb is not enough: the right kind of meta-knowledge in regards to the language style employed in this genre is essential. Carlsen Comics' paranormal detective series *Yami no Matsuei* (Masushita 2003[1997]) is a good example of a translation gone wrong in this very respect. While the Japanese version is written in *shôjo* style, translators, who, in the past, specialized in *shônen* stories, translated the German version. To somebody who reads Japanese or is well-versed in *shôjo* style texts, the translation simply 'feels' wrong. The text reflects what is said in Japanese, yet it does not reflect the linguistically more complex, nuanced and diverse **style** of language usually used. Let us for a moment consider another *shôjo* text that retains the feeling: the German translation of *Alice Academy* (Higuchi 2006[2002]), translated by Olligschläger, one of the few translators to do her own rewriting. The passage chosen is a speech given to a student body informing them of the evening's Christmas festivities. The Japanese version repeatedly makes

references to the day and evening (Tag, Abend and Nacht) thus elevating the significance of that particular day. In German or English, however, such repetition, not only reads like bad language, it also extends the length of the text into unmanageable proportions. Thus the translator has to find another way to convey the elevated importance.

4.1 Page 44 of *Alice Academy* volume 9, with translation numbers inserted by Olligschläger

Literal Translation	Rewritten Translation
6 Verglichen mit anderen Jahren wurden (wir) dieses Jahr	6 Das vergangene Jahr...
7 von einer Vielzahl unverhoffter Zwischenfälle heimgesucht;	7 ... war ein Jahr voll übler Zwischenfälle.
8 ... daher bin ich auch von Herzen froh, dass wir (nun), so wie jetzt, alle gemeinsam der Weihnachtszeit entgegen sehen können.	8 Daher ist es mir eine umso größere Freude, euch alle wohlauf hier begrüßen zu dürfen.
9 So wie jedes Jahr werden nur für den Abend dieser Weihnachtsfeier die Mauern zwischen Älteren und jüngeren Schülern und den Lehrern fallen...	9 Vor euch liegt ein magischer Heiligabend, an dem die Grenzen zwischen Lehrern und jungen und älteren Schülern aufbrechen...
10 ... und es uns einen ungezwungenen Abend ermöglichen, an dem wir die Nacht unserer Träume genießen.	10 ... und alle ungezwungen miteinander feiern können.
13 Sobald der heutige Tag vorbei ist, wird (auch) diese Nacht gänzlich der Vergessenheit überlassen werden; (idiomatisch: „dem Fluß des Wassers überlassen werden“)	13 Behaltet ihn tief in eurem Herzen...
14 ... darum bitte ich jeden von euch, behaltet die Erinnerungen, die ihr festhalten wollt, tief in euren Herzen und macht euch einen wunderbaren Abend.	14 ... denn schon morgen wird der Schleier des Vergessens darüber gelegt.

Both texts

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As can be seen here, the original literal translation, presented in the middle, is long and complicated while the rewritten version on the right is far shorter. Nonetheless, the choice of words and phrasing clearly indicates a *shôjo* title. To achieve this, the translator chose phrases that circumscribe, such as 'the veil of oblivion', 'break the boundaries wide open' or 'retain it deep within your heart'. The translator could have simply used renderings such as 'forgotten', 'level with each other' and 'remember it', which would have negated the *shôjo* style and still conveyed the meaning. Thus, here, the final German language pattern remains formal in the same way the original text does. In comparison, the pictorial and verbal framing of the German *Yami no Matsuei* translation no longer harmonises within these established parameters of *shôjo* manga. Here, the translators chose to go with a simplified language. In broader terms, what Torres (2007:138) refers to as the harmony between "verbal, aural and visual" is destroyed, leaving a fragmented picture behind. While Torres talks about advertising texts, his approach translates well to manga due to the similar mixture of verbal and visual cues within the media. However, the translation seems to have had little effect on the popularity of this particular series,[77] unlike other cases, where the choice of the language style used for the translation has provoked negative comments.

4.1.3 Manga Translation Styles

However, it is not just the text styles that vary. A publisher also has to decide on the style and jargon used in the translation process. The translation styles requested thus differ between different projects. Due to these different styles being somewhat in conflict with publishers' need for workable texts, different aspects are negotiated and agreed upon between the publisher and the translator beforehand. This refers both to formal factors, such as formatting, and the translation's level of literal closeness to the source text. Publishers have uniformly decided that concepts (sports, religions etc) and items (food, traditional apparel and so on) remain designated by the original (Japanese) terms, both in reference to the story's origin and due to coherency issues. Some manga fans' preference for translations, which try to impose Japanese grammar structures on a foreign text, is however, not a commonly used tactic, since publishers want a text to be accessible to a wider audience (Clements, interview, 24

[77] The volumes of the series regularly appeared in the monthly published manga charts from April 2003 until the end of its run (top ten selling manga per month, published by Carlsen Comics and EMA).

March 2004). While some translators and editors prefer literal translations, others believe that it is more important to keep 'the voice' of the text, as previously discussed, intact. This is a notion that many hard-core fans who relate to the Japanese original in a quasi religious dogmatic manner view as 'blasphemy' (Clements, presentation, 30 October 2001; Jüngst 2004:102). I was told by the vast majority of manga editors I interviewed that they want a good literal translation on their desk, which possesses a high degree of accessibility. Yet, at the same time, most of them also stated that, in the end, they "believe that with translation work, accuracy is defined more [by the] emotional response of [the] reader than by precise word choice. If a reader doesn't laugh or cry where the author intended ... [they are] not doing... [their] job" (Forbes, questionnaire, March 2003:5).

Sometimes these differentiating views about what represents an adequate translation can lead to verbal arguments between editors and translators. As the editor Müller put it, she "just cannot accept the explanation that 'this is how... the text sounds in Japanese'" (interview, 11 August 2003); after all it is the translator's job to make the text accessible and readable in German and not 'Ger-panese'. Smith (online, 2005) seconds this notion for the English translations of Japanese texts. Müller pointed out to me that while she does not speak Japanese, her education as a translator and interpreter for other languages has schooled her to recognize the difference between a sloppy translation and text-inherent problems. While editors seem to be focusing on finding a book's voice and bringing it out, they are often faced with the fact that "fans like the sound of non-fluent English, because it makes them feel as if they have more of an authentic experience" (Reyes, interview, 11 July 2003). As Reyes told me, this psychological issue needs to be acknowledged by the publisher. This points to the fact that hard core fans, such as *otaku*, normally do not want to buy into the 'illusion of translation', since they actually often possess original Japanese volumes, even if they do not read Japanese (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004). On the contrary, they want the fact that manga are 'translated' to be noticeable.

However, the solution many manga translators and editors seek to arrive at is finding the best possible equivalent for the culturally determined specifics in the target language while at the same time preserving its Japanese flavour. A good example of a change that was made can be found in one volume of the German translation of the action comedy *FLCL* (Gainax 2003[2000]). In the book, one character refers to

Doraemon, a very popular Japanese anime- and manga-based blue robot cat who lives in a cupboard. Yet, since *Doraemon* (Fujimoto 1969) was never published or broadcast in Germany, the humour of the reference is lost on the casual German reader. The editor, therefore, replaced Doraemon with Harry Potter, a Western character who also lives in a cupboard and with whom German readers were familiar, thus allowing the humour of the situation to be understood by the reader (Schindler, interview, 30 August 2002). In another case, in the comedy *Fruits Basket* (Takaya 2002[1999]), which focuses on humans transforming into Chinese zodiac animals, the German translation has even more animal puns and idioms due to the wealth of these in the German language and folk-lore (Olligschläger, interview, 02 January 2005). Broadcasters of anime, on the other hand, often deem the Japanese cultural 'baggage' as too complicated for the general perceived audience of school children and often transform the products in such a way that they create an adaptation instead of a translation (e.g. Allison 2000a, b; Levi 1999). The best known example for the USA is *Robotech*, which in reality consisted of clips from three different anime shows.[78] Carl Macek re-cut the shows and supplied them with a new plotline that he saw as appropriate for the 1980s television market (Schodt 1996:311). The three unrelated Japanese shows became a completely new concept in their Western incarnation (Robotech Companion, online, 2006). Manga are usually not as prone to these extreme changes, yet the amount to which they are updated or spiced-up varies. If the translation depends too heavily on current phrases, it might not be publishable in future years without re-editing to meet future sub-cultural phrases. In the end, the creative decision of what style to use in the translation is based mostly on the title in question (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). Books akin to the game-related manga *Digimon* (Hongo 2002) or *Beyblade* (Aoki 2002), which are linked to a current multimedia phenomenon, are not designed to fascinate readers over a longer period of time. Dramas, history, mystery, sci-fi and fantasy titles are quite literally a different story (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003). They have the potential to be long-term investments, which are still capable of generating revenue for many years even towards the end of the licensed time. Titles such as *Akira* (Omoto 1982) and *Lone Wolf and Cub* (Koike and Kojima 1970) are good examples of this long term strategy. They have been reprinted and re-issued and are now regarded as 'Western classics' (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). One approach taken by publishers to find a

[78] These shows were *Super Dimensional Fortress: Macross* (Inoue 1982), *Super Dimensional Cavalry: Southern Cross* (Nakano 1984) and *Genesis Climber Mospeada* (Yamanda 1983) (Robotech Companion, online, 2006).

balance between a sense of timelessness and up-to-date colloquialisms in the translations is asking for technically perfect literal translations. These technical translations will be edited into texts using current colloquialisms by re-writers. However, I observed the success of this strategy to be mixed.

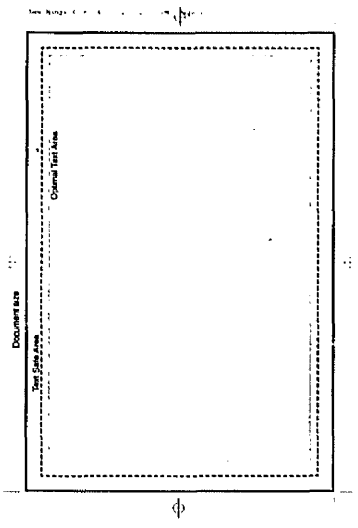
I have noted in Chapter Two how Clements pointed out that the creative input of translators is often hard to judge. While the manga industry is not the film industry, the difficulty of judging the translator's creative input remains the same. A good example of such an undervaluation would be the German title of *Kusatta Kyôshi no Hôteishiki* (Kodaka, 2005[1993]); a raw English translation would be something like: "The Equation of a Wayward Teacher". The fans usually used the unofficial title rendering "A Rotten Teacher's Equation" or simply called it "K2". The Japanese title is a pun on the relationships within this *shônen-ai* title. It tells the story of a student who falls for a wilful teacher and, through his persistence, tames him. The storyline itself is largely a game of confusion, with characters and their relationships to each other being the unknowns within the equation. It changes in time as their status towards each other changes until, in the last volume, they settle and give us a 'result'. Since the title is untranslatable into German if one is trying to keep the humour intact, the translator, in a brainstorming session with the title's re-writer, looked for ways to preserve the notion. Going for something akin to *The Taming of the Shrew* became a theme, but Shakespeare itself was not modern enough. So, in the end, they chose a pun on the modern adaptation with *Kiss Me Teacher* (Olligschläger, interview, 02 January 2005). This title did not reflect what manga fans had expected and many did not grasp the reference to *Kiss Me Kate*, the modern musical version of the Shakespeare play.[79] Here, the inherent polysemy of the text leads to completely different expectations regarding what was the most vital aspect for different stakeholders: the literal rendering or creative expression of the inherent meaning.

4.1.4 The 'Space' or the Economy of the Page

Furthermore, future layout often intersects with the creative work of the translators. Manga publishers need tight translations in order to be able to work with the layout of the visual text. For example, the font used in manga has to be of a certain size to still

[79] For an in-depth discussion see: http://www.comics-in-leipzig.de/Forum/thread.php?threadid=16040&threadview=0&hilight=&hilightuser=0&page=1

be readable. Therefore, often the 'perfect' translation of a Japanese sentence, which unwittingly is almost always longer than the Japanese original, can pose a problem in the 'economy of the page'. Thus, one of the first practical things the translators have to pay attention to is to produce a translation that is compact enough to 'fit'. What exactly does this mean? This 'economy' not only includes space restrictions imposed by the artwork, but also includes the so-called safety margin.



4.2 A reproduction of a clear plastic sheet showing the possible text margins

This safety margin is applied to the four outer rims of every single page. I observed both letterers and layout artists try to avoid placing text in this margin, although sometimes it was unavoidable. The margin is maintained in order to make sure that no text is lost when the page is cut at the printers, or gets lost in the inner fold (gutter) when bound (Ashman 1989: Figure 1). This can happen due to a slight shift in the printing or cutting machines, referred to as the nominal dimensions tolerance (German: Sollmass-Toleranz) (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002).[80] Titles such as Akamatsu's *Love Hina* are a very good example of such space-related issues. Fans love Akamatsu's titles, but no editor I encountered, no matter the language, shares this love on a professional level. His books are notoriously hard to work on due to their high text density. Editors are constantly faced with criticism from fans that the translated works are missing parts of the original text.[81] Akamatsu's texts already have such a high text density in the Japanese original that the translators are faced with a dilemma. The space available on the page for text is the same as in less text heavy books, yet if they change the artwork, even if only to enhance the size of the speech bubbles, they are criticised (Jüngst 2004:85; Smith, online, 2005). However, if they shorten the 'less important' parts of the text, they face the same criticism (ibid.).

In the end, Klötzer, an EMA editor I interviewed (27 August 2003), summarised the problem facing the publishers rather well: on the one hand, "the (normal) readers

[80] This slight shift can be found in any sort of tool or machinery, due to the fact that 100% accuracy in 100% of the cases is impossible to achieve.

[81] For examples of these discussions please refer to internet discussion boards, such as *AnimeOnDVD* or relevant publisher forums.

enjoy, to a certain extent, being taught a bit about Japanese culture and footnotes work nicely for this purpose;" on the other hand, manga are "not scientific texts" and they should not be treated as such. Therefore, extensive footnotes, as a means of increasing the space available for text, are usually out of the question, as will be discussed later within this chapter.

4.1.5 Extra-Linguistic Knowledge

Having determined a text's requirements in terms of space and style, the translator can move his focus onto the text's cultural signifiers. While a great extent of proper, high culture-framed extra-linguistic knowledge is normally seen as positive, a broad knowledge of popular cultural information is seen as less valuable (Bourdieu 1984:411). In manga, this knowledge is perceived as twice removed, due both to its being mass or popular culture and of foreign origin (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004). Yet, research about specific issues and the surrounding terminology is an essential part of a good translation, as seasoned translators all stress repeatedly (Flanagan, panel discussion, 27 July 2004; Olligschläger, interview, 03 September 2003).

A translator has to become familiar with all sorts of different topics during any given assignment. Given the variety of topics covered in the manga handed to them by the publisher, they might be called upon to translate a Japanese text that incorporates military structures, old Chinese Tarot terms, mythologies and philosophies from all over the world, up to the currently popular fashion lingo in Shibuya or Harajuku.[82] The extra-linguistic knowledge called for can even change from volume to volume. Considering the fact that, in most cases, translators are paid the same irrespective of how much time they spend researching background issues, only those who see translation as their profession are interested in thorough research (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004; Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004). This brings us back to the aforementioned dilemma. Publishing companies have to keep production costs to a feasible minimum in order to be profitable, yet qualified translators are usually more expensive than inexperienced ones.[83] Bad translations can damage the

[82] Two of Tokyo's areas, which are known for displaying and developing vibrant and fast changing youth culture and innovative trends.

[83] Due to the popularity of manga , licence fees for titles are higher and paper costs and printing costs are increasing, as are overall personnel costs due to the larger number of employees needed to keep up with the growing output.

carefully created brand image of the publisher. The problem of missing cultural research is not resolved unless the re-writer knows about the topic involved.

A good example of what happens when background knowledge is missing occurs in one of the books I worked on during my fieldwork at Tokyopop: *Clamp School Detectives* (Clamp 2003[1992]).

4.3 The original Japanese sign and the English 'subtitle'

Original literal translation: Matorosu-san to Suihei-san. (Yoshimoto, February 2003)

English raw re-write: "*Mataf et Matelot*"

re-writer footnote: "??? – As best I can tell, there is some kind of pirate connection here to these French words." (Jones, March 03)

Copy edit suggestion: "sailor-san and navy sailor-san"

copy edit footnote: During the Meiji Restoration, Japan looked to the West for examples on how to reform its society. In the military field, they chose Prussia/Germany as their example. "Matrosen" (sailor) are also known as "Leichtmatrosen" or, in a commercial context, as "merchant sailors"; they are not career military like the naval sailors who are on the officer track. Hence the difference in the uniforms. (Niehusmann, March 2003)

Final editor's choice: sailor-san and navy sailor-san (Forbes, March 2003)

All texts © Tokyopop 2003

The Japanese terms *matorosu* and *suihei* refer to the marine ranks the characters' costumes represent. The translator's literal rendering of the katakana and the Kanji word made no sense to the re-writer, who was unfamiliar with the fact that part of the Japanese marine ranks are taken from the German and not the English terminology, although it was modelled on the British navy. The first Japanese word was, therefore, merely the Japanese rendering of the German word *Matrose*. This example is only of minor importance to the total product and could have happened in any translation process. Yet I could give other examples that clearly show that the translator was not paying attention or was missing key background knowledge.

Normally a Style Guide that contains all the important names, objects and controlled vocabulary is developed for every translation project. This guide defines certain names, places and things connoted, and the proper way of translating and using them. In some cases, the Japanese licensor has already outlined the English names to be used in the translation (Lohmann, interview, 27 August 2002). Most often, the style guide is built on during translation, with new things being added as the translation progresses through the manga's volumes in order to guarantee the consistency of the canon (ibid.). In the case of the German translation of the fantasy cycle *Lodoss War* (Mizumo and Natsumato 2000[1998]), the translator completely disregarded the already-existing English names in the original artwork. As a result, names of locations on signs and maps varied from the way they are spelled in the speech bubbles and between different books within the series. For a new print run of the series, the publisher would have to decide to correct these wording issues at extra cost or leave the books as they are.

4.4 A map of Lodoss Island

4.1.6 Onomatopoeia – Visualised Sound and Mood

One issue that has changed the most over the years is the publishing policy on onomatopoeia (Jüngst 2004:93ff). It is important to keep in mind that sound words are considered part of the artwork by the Japanese artists who draw the manga and that their form of visualisation, from fragile strokes to bold letters, gives a clearer indication of the sounds' more nuanced meanings (Natsume, presentation, 01 February 2002). In other words, a sound can be deafening or subtle; it can overpower the voice of the character or it can underline it.

4.5 Action sound

4.6 Speed sound

4.7 A scream of unbelief

4.8 Cleaning and being exhausted

4.9 Spacing out

In the beginning, onomatopoeia were regularly erased. One reason was that pages in Western editions were mirrored in order to achieve a Western reading direction and onomatopoeia would not have made any sense even to those who were capable of deciphering them (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004). Erasing them was also sometimes used to obscure the Japanese origin of the title (Allison 2000b:145). The biggest problem was replacing the onomatopoeia; neither American nor European comic artists had developed sound and mood expressions in comics to the same extent as the Japanese artists had (Natsume, presentation, 01 February 2002). As Schmitt (1997:268) notes, German translations of comics have a history of leaving English onomatopoeia intact, trusting in the audiences' foreign language skills. In the

author's experience, the same is true for Franco-Belgium comics yet this cannot be counted on with regards to Japanese due to the different sign systems.

The first translated manga often feel almost empty, since only certain sounds were actually replaced in a proper way and others were erased from the artwork. Due to this, translators began to develop new local onomatopoeia to replace the Japanese ones (Bockel, interview, 23 July 2002; Kanemitsu, online, 2002). In line with manga's increased brand development in the West, that is, in order to be seen as an authentic experience, many publishers started to leave the onomatopoeia unchanged as a sign of its Japanese origin. This development was not uncontested. Since a lot of the onomatopoeia, especially in *shôjo*, describe a character's moods or feelings, it is often vital for the reader to understand them – thus some think they have to be translated.

A number of the professionals involved in early English localisations argue that this new development is yet another excuse to save money and time in the translation process (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004; Smith, online, 2005). In other words, according to Clements and Smith, it is a purely economic decision taken by the publisher to cut work hours and costs since achieving the best graphically possible artwork through retouching the onomatopoeia requires a lot of experience and finesse, which in turn would mean hiring an expensive expert. Those who advocate a decrease in the number of changes to the original Japanese artwork, on the other hand, argue that undisturbed artwork is critical for the proper enjoyment of the story as the artist intended it (Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004; Tarbox, interview, 24 July 2004). It is within this discourse that the polysemy of the medium and the possible interpretations it offers become visible again in the different solutions at which publishers have arrived. Some have decided to try bridging the gap between the two extreme opinions either by including a list of the onomatopoeia and their meanings (Raijin), or by subtitling the onomatopoeia (Del Rey and Viz).

4.10 Direct comparison of the original Japanese onomatopoeia and their Western retouch

4.11 Japanese onomatopoeia in a US edition

NEON GENESIS EVANGELION GLOSSARY

169-3	FX	shin [wooosh]
169-4	FX	chin [ding!]
169-5-1	FX	(in balloon) shu' [woosh]
169-5-2	FX	(in balloon) gava' [sudden opening]
172-3-1	FX	goshu' [k-woosh]
172-3-2	FX	(in balloon) pi' pi' [beep beep]
172-4	FX	shin [wooosh]
172-6	FX	biiii biiii biiii [high-pitched alert]
173-1	FX	biiii biiii [high-pitched alert]
173-6	FX	buoooo... [grrrrrrrrrr]
174-1-1	FX	(white) buoooo [rrrrrrrrr]
174-1-2	FX	(black) za za [splash splash]
175-1	FX	zuuuuu [rrrrrrrrr]
175-2	FX	zuuuuu [rrrrrrrrrr]
176-1	FX	(in balloon) kachan [ka chink]
185-5	FX	bun [screen coming on]
186-1	FX	(in balloon) ka' [trap]
186-3	FX	gaku' [collapse]
186-4	FX	(in balloon) gachan [ka-chink]
186-6	FX	gara gara gara [rattle rattle rattle]
186-7	FX	gara gara gara gara gara gara [rattling]
187-1	FX	gara gara gara gara gara [rattling]
187-2	FX	gara gara gara [rattling]
187-3	FX	gachan [ka-chink]
188-4	FX	gu' [grip]
189-1-1	FX	zuzuzuzu [rrrrrrrrrrr]
189-1-2	FX	gogon [heavy, metallic bang]
189-2	FX	bin bin [mechanical noise]
189-5	FX	guoooo... [rrrrrrrrr...]
189-8	FX	ba' [loud flash]
190-1	FX	ba' [answering echo]
190-2/3	FX	zugogoooooooo [ka-bbbooooom]

4.12 The corresponding translation list at the end of the book.

5.1.7 Extra Editorial Content

In the case of manga, the translator not only translates the text, he often also functions as a guide to Japanese culture to the editor either through explanations in the translation or by information sheets that can be added to the property bible. This text-external surplus information in these cases does not reflect on the original creation process, unlike the remarks often included by the Japanese *manga-ka*, but serves as a reminder of the intermediary role of the translator or editor (Jüngst 2004:97). My research showed that, since around the year 2000, German manga have used this information supplied by the translator in a subtle way by using footnotes, explaining foods, clothes, festivals or music bands, next to the picture frames in the final product. This information usually takes on a lexical feeling akin to the note within this example of the American *Kare Kano* (Tsuda 2003[1995]) translation by Forsyth:

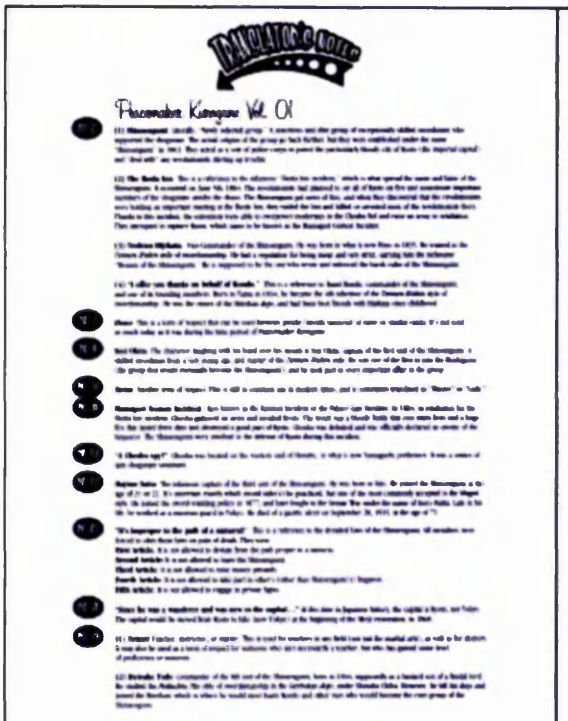
17.1	YUKINO	That is so not like me to mess up like that.....!!
	YUKINO	Idiot! I'm an idiot!! **An idiot!!!**
17.2	YUKINO	Now we just hang out as friends, as if nothing happened.
	SOICHIRO	*"Shall We Dance" is great!*
		Check out "Toyoetsu" playing? Kindaichi.
		[**NOTE**: "Shall We Dance" is a Japanese movie about a salaryman who took dancing lessons to try to get close to the female instructor. It was rather popular when it came out. "Toyoetsu" is short for "Toyokawa Etsuji," a famous sexy actor in TV dramas such as "*Aishiteru to Itte Kure*" (Say You Love Me).]

(*Kare Kano* – He Says, She Says, volume 2: 17, © Tokyopop 2003)

This guide function is ongoing and expands with every volume of a title. The year 2004 saw an expansion of this development of the manga market with additional editorial content migrating into the actual books, via extra pages explaining, for example, Japanese name-suffixes, onomatopoeia and other issues, which had come up during translation.[84] In this case, the translator (or sometimes the editor) becomes a visible guide to a foreign culture (Gibson 2007:45f). My research also showed that this format is used as a tool by American publishers to increase the 'intimacy' between the reader and the producer, either represented by the translator or an editor, a form of direct consumer marketing, as will be discussed in more detail in

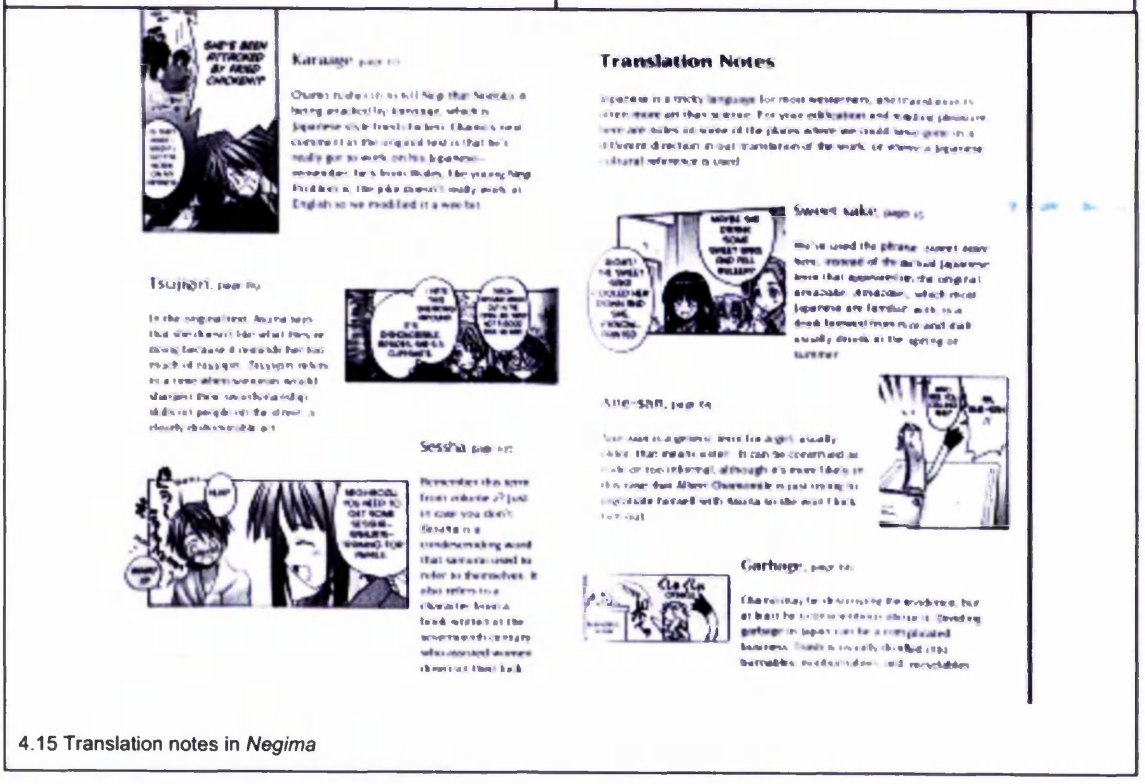
[84] Examples of this development in English are *Clamp High School Detectives* (Tokyopop), all Del Rey books

Chapter Six. The foreign origin of the text is accentuated and made deliberately visible; thus, the 'illusion of translation' is unquestionably shattered (Jüngst 2004:97).



4.13 Translation notes from *Peacemaker Kurogane*

4.14 Editorial explaining the history and meanings of the swastika in *Blade of the Immortal*



4.15 Translation notes in *Negima*

The trend to include translation notes to cover Japanese concepts or peculiarities takes this development even further. At the end of 2005, in German manga translations, the amount of space given to these notes was usually kept to a minimum, with a tendency to opt for footnotes underneath the panel concerned or at the bottom of the page. Unlike the longer English explanations, the German footnotes continue to focus on giving short encyclopaedic renderings. An exception is when editors feel the need to explain pictorial censorship to their readers, as shall be discussed in Chapter Seven.

All these factors (text and translation styles, economy of the page, extra linguistic knowledge and so on) show that the translated manga is very distant from the notion of 'invisible translation' as the best form of translation.[85] By moving inherent translation issues into the foreground, for example, through footnotes or cultural explanations, the text purposefully draws attention to its translated status. It also shows, through the sheer diversity of the choices executed, the different ways publishers engage with the texts' polysemic nature. There are various explanations for these particular developments and the reason why the publishers have embraced them on an organisational level as the new status quo of manga localisation. I would argue that this new additional information in manga serves as an added layer, a bonus similar to the Behind-the-Scenes extras on many DVDs. This layer is the manga's "localisation of" featurette, moving manga again closer to other visual media produced in a communal fashion and away from books written by a single author. This would explain why this practice is far more common in the USA where the association between manga and visual media is stronger due to the multimedia strategies of most manga publishers in comparison to the print only approach followed by most German publishers.

Once the translator has completed his task, the numbered book, together with the similarly numbered translation document, is handed back to the editor. The last few subsections have already started to show that a translator is not exclusively responsible for the textual localisation of manga. The focus of the next sub-chapter is on the professional roles that concentrate on the transformation of the raw translation into the printed text.

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[85] For an in-depth discussion of this topic please refer to Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995).

5. 2 The Re-Writers

After the translator has returned the finished translation to the editor, it is passed on to a re-writer. In modern manga publishing, it is common to employ re-writers, or readers, after the translation process is finished to ensure the printability and appeal of the translation. The use of re-writers has been common at Carlsen Comics and Planet Manga since 2001 in Germany, as I was able to observe, and it re-appeared in the USA from the same period onward at, for example, Tokyopop and Viz (Flanagan, panel discussion, 23 July 2004; Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). It coincided with increasing numbers of manga titles being published by the major labels. Like the translators, the re-writers are freelancers that are hired for one project and are free to work for multiple publishers at the same time. Re-writers are paid a standard fee per book, much as translators are. Their main task is to transform the technically correct translation into a readable and accessible text. Depending on the translator's qualifications and style, and the publisher's demand for either a technically correct and dry translation or a vibrant text, a re-writers job includes everything from minor corrections to full re-writes to meet the desired textual style. According to my interviewees, re-writers are usually employed to ensure that the text "sounds natural" while "keep[ing] it as close to the original as possible" (Hurchalla, interview, 14 July 2003:3). The re-writer "will reword or restructure dialogue for better flow and character consistency" (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003). Coleman supports this notion: "I try to leave as many cultural reference(s) intact as possible for the purpose of authenticity. Sometimes, if a reference will be entirely lost on American readers, I'll change it, so long as it doesn't change the story" (questionnaire, March 2003:3). Lockman, on the other hand, argues that "the translator explains what things are... [the re-writer] comes up with American equivalents" (questionnaire, March 2003:3). The time a re-writer can spend on a title depends largely on the fixed publishing deadline and on how well the translation holds to his deadline within the said timeline. The amount of text and its complexity also influence the amount of time a re-writer generally needs to re-write a book.[86]

[86] Arnold for example stated that it takes him about 2 ½ to 3 times longer to re-write *Love Hina* (Akamatsu 2002 [1998]) as compared to the mecha title *GGundam* (Yatate *et al.* 2003[1999]) (questionnaire, March 2003:3).

My research indicates that re-writers have writing experience in a wide variety of fields. Among them are authors of articles in newspapers, magazines or online media. Others write comics and books, and in the USA, screenwriters also are found among the people re-writing manga. Unlike the majority of editors I interviewed or who filled in questionnaires for me, many of the re-writers received college training in the field of writing-related subjects. Degrees in language and creative writing are common. Broadly speaking, I discovered that there are two major groups of re-writers: those who are and remain unknown to the readers, and those who are known for other popular works they have created.[87] In the latter case, the book usually includes the line 'adapted by', like, for example, Tokyopop's *Battle Royal* (Takami and Taguchi 2003[2000]) translation, instead of 're-written by' in the credits or on the cover, thus, elevating the importance of the re-writer almost to that of a 'co-author', in turn setting these titles apart into their own category, one that is not unlike that of the 'adapted screenplay'. The popularity of such re-writers is used to add value in the marketing of titles. However, since well known re-writers add additional costs to the production process, many publishing companies employ them only for top-titles that will generate sufficient revenue.

Publishers have opted for free-lance re-writers for the same organisational and economic reasons as they do with translators: additional permanent full-time employees would add to the fixed cost base of a company. A full-time workforce not only receives higher salaries and creates the need for more office space and equipment, but also incurs higher secondary costs (health insurance, pension benefits and so on) for the publisher. Nevertheless, with the increasing volume of books that were being published, editors had less time to spend with a single title (Horn, interview, 25 January 2005; Smith, online, 2005) and hence required assistance. Re-writing was not seen as a task on which an editor was expected to spend his time; nevertheless, between 2000 and 2002, it had become a constant part of their work (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Schweitzer, interview, 30 August 2002).

In the early days of American manga translations, publishers usually labelled re-writers as co-translators (Flanagan, panel discussion, 24 July 2004) or referred to them in editorial terms. Due to the increase in output, publishers needed to hire more

[87] Examples for the second group are Peter David of *Star Trek* and DC Comics fame as well as Marv Wolfman, the writer of DC Comics' *New Teen Titans* in the 1980s etc.

translators. Most of the new translators, as a matter of fact, supplied the companies with "more literal and less accessible translations" (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003), meaning they conveyed the content of the Japanese text yet the translations were not necessarily smoothly readable. At the same time, US publishing houses moved from pamphlet-sized sixty-four page issues to fully-fledged *tankôbon*, with around two-hundred and fifteen pages, which increased the workload of editors even further. One effect was an increase in the number of mistakes in published texts. Fans began to complain and to compile correction lists that they sometimes even sent to the publishers (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003). This led to the introduction of new Quality Assurance (QA) systems in order to catch these mistakes (Klamert, interview, 20 February 2003). Within the new structures, the editors have become the focal point to which the texts return after every processing step, rather than its re-writer/proof reader. An editor is also no longer the only person who reviews a finished manga before it goes into print: copy-editors and often another project-unrelated employee review the copy.

4.2.1 Taste and Guidelines

Re-writers have their own creative style, tastes and convictions. They do, as I have noted, also receive guidelines from the publisher. These normally cover technical aspects, such as text layout, special references to certain grammar rules, and preferred punctuation (c.f. Ross 2003; Hoffmann 2002; Panini 2003). They also have access to the style guide or a property bible in order to keep the terminology and names consistent (Lohmann, interview, 27 August 2002). At Tokyopop, for example, interns set up initial structures with publication information, notes on the storylines and authors, major characters and so forth. The translators then expand the guides as do the re-writers.

I learned during my research that taste-based decisions in the re-writing process that are in conflict with or are an extension of the style guide[88] are normally linked to a re-writer's personal conviction about specific topics or awareness of the environmental factors. The re-writer Hurchalla, for example, pointed out that she perceived the changes she made as "being sensitive to the culture the book is being targeted to"

[88] The style guide is often part of the property bible, it lists the character and speech patterns for different characters but also limitations on for example sweat words due to age ratings.

(questionnaire, March 2003:3), a notion echoed by various other re-writers and editors. This behaviour could be interpreted as "self-censorship". However, when asked about this interpretation, many re-writers, mostly those working on manga with comparably more mature, gory or vocally extreme content, answered that they tone-down or 'soften' certain word groups in titles aimed at children and younger teenagers. Obscenities are often affected by this "self-censorship", as is sexual and violent verbal imagery (Schindler, interview, 30 August 2002; Taylor, interview, 11 July 2003).[89] Since 2004, after Scholastic stopped selling an issue of *Shônen Jump* at school fairs, based on what was perceived to be age-inappropriate behaviour being displayed (Reid 2004b:13), these changes seem to have increased. References to underage smoking and drinking seem to have established themselves as a new 'taboo' area. These issues of pre-censorship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

In the case of a purely technical translation, re-writers often are also responsible for developing the characters' unique voices and setting the tone for a story. In this case, the overall consensus seems to be that it is best to "take cues from the art" (Hurchalla, questionnaire, 2003:3) in order to make sure art and text are harmonious. Other re-writers are known to run through an imaginary casting list in their head until they find what sounds right to them, in very much the same way an animated film producer will cast voices (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). American re-writers, just as editors, are sometimes criticised, not so much for polishing the translation, as for localising a text too strongly (AOD, online, 30 July 2004).[90] In case there is a change of rewriters, the decisions are sometimes also linked to what has already happened in the earlier volumes. Arnold pointed out that he "began the series after the names were already settled on. So all the main cast have no honorifics. I do keep honorifics or pet names whenever I can for new characters" (questionnaire, March 2003:3). As becomes clear here, different re-writers will come to different creative decisions. Normally, re-writers have more creative freedom when re-writing science fiction or fantasy titles than they do when working with historical or drama titles (Clements,

[89] One example given in the interview, was replacing the word 'kill' with 'destroy', which was seen as less physically violent (Forbes, questionnaire, March 2003:3). Another was substituting 'this sucks' with 'this stinks' in a young teen title (Taylor, interview, 11 July 2003).

[90] Please refer to the discussion from the 30th onward in 'Best and Worst Publishers of Translated Manga' http://forums.animeondvd.com/showflat.php?Cat=&Number=609753&page=0&view=collapsed&sb=5&o=&fpart=1&vc=1

interview, 24 March 2004; Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003). Current and real life titles might use current lingo, yet the freedom to 're-invent' terminology is limited to fantasy titles (Clements, presentation, 30 October 2001). As Taylor, an editor, points out, her "policy is that... [she] really do[es] not like them chang[ing] the content, but they can certainly tweak the prose a little", if it increases the book's flavour (interview, 11 July 2003); this could be achieved, for example, by updating references to gadgets or pop bands (Lohmann, interview, 23 September 2003). A good example of such a tweaking would be the American translation of *Real Bout High School* (Saiga and Inoue 2002 [2000]). The social class system between older and younger students was seen as something that was not part of the American High School experience, thus the American version dropped this distinction to adapt the title better to the USA. It is also popular to have characters from the Kansai region in Japan speak in a dialect of English to indicate their different Japanese dialect. My research indicates that New York Italian seems to be the most popular choice for the substitution of Kansai dialect.

4.2.2 Finding a Book's 'Voice'

Usually the decisions, such as adding pseudo-accents or omitting cultural symbols and rituals, that influence a book's flavour are decided before the translating and re-writing process begins. As discussed previously, the decision is based on whether or not the manga should have a timeless feeling, or be a more current tongue-in-cheek version (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). Both approaches have their merits and their disadvantages. While timeless translations do not date as quickly and are more accessible over time, they do not attract the majority of young casual popular culture consumers who see manga very much as a cool 'now' product (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). This temporality of the language in certain titles has repeatedly provoked fans to talk about 'Americanisation'. Of course, 'Americanisation' and contemporary language use are not necessarily the same thing. Manga do not hide their Japanese origin any longer; on the contrary, it is a selling point. Yet, "ultimately... [the] readers only know the text we give them, so how it reads in English is most important. However, fans buy it for the authors, not re-writers, and our entire company is based on a trust with the fans that we are bringing them an accurate product" (Forbes, questionnaire, March 2003:5).

I observed that German publishers, while using contemporary references, usually try to avoid localisations that might date too quickly. One reason for these different approaches might be rooted in the fact that most German manga publishers also publish books and stay closer to the book publisher's approach to language. On the other hand, most American manga publishers, with the notable exception of Del Rey, see themselves as multimedia companies, which again locates them closer to other visual media, such as television and film, thus influencing their choice of vocalisation. The way in which the manga are currently rated by age in the USA reflects the age labelling of videos - yet another obvious sign of this relationship.

The only companies that employed 're-writers' more in a form of 'associate editors' or 'copy-editors' at the end of 2004 were Panini's Planet Manga and Heyne; these publishing houses follow the old book publishers' tradition of having very few editors and a greater number of 'Lektoren' (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003).[91] In contrast, Del Rey have decided, in the majority of cases, not to work with re-writers. Instead, they employ translators with writing experience, who also form their translations into a coherent text (Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004). It is, therefore, not surprising that these translators receive higher rates per page than do other manga translators. It is important to note that, in 2004, the number of books Del Rey had in print was limited and did not create the same time pressure on Del Rey as that experienced by companies with a bigger output. However, this policy might also be related to the fact that Del Rey generally favoured experienced translators who had proven their creative writing skills. Del Rey's principle translators, for example, used to work as editors and writers for Viz, and brought with them years of experience in various publishing areas (Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004).

The last two sub-chapters discussed the work, constraints and creative process of translating and adopting the textual content of a manga. However, translators and re-writers are not the only ones working on the content localisation. While they are focused on the text, the majority of graphic design work is restricted to the image.

[91] The German word 'Lektor', comes from the Latin word 'lector' The English term is 'reader'

4.3 Graphics all Around

There are a number of different stages concerned with the localisation of the manga's graphics. These involve tasks such as scanning, the reformatting of both microfilm and digital materials, retouching, layout, lettering, marketing galleys[92] and, additionally, the graphic design of covers and logos. Most of these stages are broken down and carried out by differently qualified people, who normally have been educated in graphic design. The type of work carried out by the graphics department has changed dramatically over the past few years. The skill sets are shifting from artisan-like handiwork to digital manipulation. While part of the work takes place in-house, some of it is outsourced and allocated to freelancers. The original assigned graphic designers who prepare the visual image for localisation start their work on the title, preferably simultaneously with the translator.

4.3.1 Scanning

While the availability of digital storage capabilities has increased dramatically over the last few years, for much of my research period, the Western publishers did not receive digital source material from the Japanese publishers. Although currently, many Japanese publishing houses usually keep film or, more recently, digital copies of all art work, in 2004, the localising publishers still employed older techniques, such as film, or scanned existing *tankôbon*. Long-term manga editor Horn attributes this lack of digital material to the lack of a "willingness of the American side to pursue them, rather than any reticence on the part of the Japanese side" (interview, 25 January 2005). The additional cost that the publishers would have had to pay for the digital source material, in comparison to the cost of the local labour used to scan the existing material, was what kept them from pursuing the already established method of production. In the absence of digital source material, the workflow starts with the reception of an agreed quantity of actually-published *tankôbon*. These books are taken apart in order to scan each page. While Tokyopop carried out all scanning in-house during the time of my research, Carlsen Comics had outsourced this first step of the graphic workflow. Scanning the pages, however, is not as straightforward as it might seem, as I observed. Next to the specificities dictated by an individual *manga-*

[92] From the outside, marketing galleys, to all intents and purposes, look the same as the finished product. They are used to familiarise buyers with the format and look of a given product prior to publication.

ka's drawing style, *tankôbon* also consist of coloured pages and previously-coloured pages[93] next to the regular black-and-white pages. The settings of the scanning parameters need to be manually adjusted both in terms of dpi resolution and colour scheme (Makowski, interview, 06 January 2003).

4.16 Coloured page

4.17 Greyscale of a former colour page

4.18 Black and white page

There has been some discussion as to why most translated manga lack the picture quality in a Western print of the Japanese originals (AOD #1214923 and aod #1214925, online, 12 March 2005). The lack of high quality digital source data and the use instead of scanned pages by the localisers are one reason for the differences in quality. For example, original Japanese magazines or *tankôbon* are usually printed on recycled paper that feels rather coarse to the touch. When leafing through the majority of manga, it also becomes apparent that the paper is not completely white. Due to this, distortions can occur when the pictures are scanned and then printed again though these can be erased by hand or minimized by an experienced graphic artist (Horn, interview, 25 January 2005). At the beginning, when mostly manga enthusiasts were working for slower output companies, such as Studio Proteus, and the number of pages dealt with was smaller, this post-processing was indeed the norm (ibid.). However, it is important to remember that nowadays scanning is normally either outsourced or done by free- and perma-lance[94] employees earning relatively low salaries, and hence the fluctuation rate of employees within this field is

[93] Usually the chapters start with coloured pages when first being printed in anthologies; however, most of these pages are transformed into grey-scale pictures within the collected *tankôbon*.

[94] Perma-lance refers to employees who hold a freelance contract, yet do work regularly for an agreed-upon time per week/month just as a normal employee; this means, for example, that insurance and healthcare are the responsibility of the employee and not the employer.

especially high, as I observed. This corresponds with Charles Handy's observation regarding both the second and third leaf of the organisational shamrock. Neither outsourced group is bound to the core-organisation through loyalty. Both either focus on their peer group, which works on the same project, or they simply perceive their work as a job that earns them money (1989:80). Such perma-lance jobs are clearly seen as an interim solution by those who take them, either to finance their studies or to fill time while they are searching for a more permanent position (Makowski, interview, 06 January 2003). Furthermore, the expected production output has increased dramatically, while the amount of time every single person in the workflow has available to spend on a single page has decreased drastically. Today "individuals are ... responsible for producing four, six, perhaps as many as ten times of pages per month as they were in previous years" (Horn, interview, 25 January 2005) often leading to lower graphic quality and less well cleaned imagery.

I observed that it is not unusual to run scanners in up to three shifts a day to maximise the output. Scanning normally takes place in a separate space, sometimes not on the company's premises, due to the constant noise created by the scanners. Interaction between those doing the scanning and other members of the company is, therefore, often reduced to a minimum. All these facts are reminiscent more of an industrial manufacturing set-up producing standardised units than of the creativity usually associated with publishers. Hence, the status of these workers within the organisation is far lower than, for example, that of the permanently employed graphic designers.

4.3.2 Covers

Covers are an important part of the manga localisation; they are the first impression a consumer has of a manga book. Preferably, the cover design will invoke brand recognition, genre association and facilitate impulse buying all at the same time (Levy, interview, 15 July 2003). While comic publishers traditionally designed a cover sometime towards the end of the publication workflow, during my research I observed that Tokyopop had moved cover design and production to an earlier stage. This was a direct reaction to the practice of major book store retailers, such as Borders or Barnes and Nobles, of advance buying. Big book chains operate their business with publication timetables similar to those of cinema release dates. A

book's publication date is required to adjust the full supply chain, from delivery to reserving shelf space for the book shipments when they arrive. Another important factor is that retailers need a reliable schedule to plan their own advertisements and promotions.

Bookstores order usually at least six months ahead; however, the publication dates for a calendar year are often agreed with the publishers at the beginning of the year (Kleckner, interview, 10 March 2003). Comic book shop retailers, by comparison, typically use publications such as Diamond's *Previews* catalogue, which runs three months in advance (ibid.); January shipments, for example, can be ordered via the November issue of the catalogue. This three month-rhythm is the schedule originally followed in the USA. German publishers work on a semi-annual schedule, which is made publicly available through the sales catalogues, which are published semi-annually. Due to the publishers' move to situate manga as a segment within the book market, the need for early and informative catalogues that the sales department can take to the meetings with book sellers, has increased immensely (ibid.).[95] This stands in contrast to the previous needs of the specialist retailers, as discussed in Chapter Six.

The process of localising manga covers follows different routes at different publishers. The major determinant is the licence agreement that governs the freedom the licensee has in designing the cover. Some companies, for example, Hakusensha, normally insist on keeping the key artwork of the Japanese cover, as I witnessed during my field studies at both Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop.

4.19 *AS*'s Japanese cover

4.20 *AS*'s German cover

4.21 *AS*'s American cover

4.22 *AS*'s Italian cover

[95] Information usually provided to the retailers includes possible cover and key art as well as a short synopsis. Often the information is accompanied by sample artwork, a creator's biography and genre, information on the age and gender of the intended audience.

Other licensors are less demanding and leave the cover graphics to be decided based on the tastes of the target market (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). After comparing around a hundred different manga titles published in six territories (France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and the USA) I can conclude that, on the whole, the cover designs are quite different when it comes to the signification of age or genre. Many Japanese covers of teen titles would strike a casual Western audience as looking like children's titles, meaning possible trouble for the publisher if parents feel misled by the cover image or if the image results in the targeted casual readers skipping over the book because of their assumptions about the audience being targeted.

4.23 *HYD*'s Japanese cover

4.24 *HYD*'s American cover

Another issue is the usage of colours. The American publications I reviewed had lighter shades of blue with less of a red undercurrent than the Japanese original art (c.f. Image 4.23 and 4.24). German publishers also choose to slightly change blue-violet shades to a lighter tone of colour. The regional covers of the gay detective story *Fake* are good examples of this colour change by the target market: while the key art and the overall design remain almost completely the same as those used in Japan, in both Germany and the USA, the variation of the colour gives the book a slightly different feel. As Makowski, a cover designer, explained: "The general design aesthetic is Americanised" (questionnaire, March 2003:4) in order to be visually more pleasing. Not only are the colours crisper, but also the contrast and lines are sharper, as both images 4.21 and 4.24 show. The same, to a slightly lesser extent, can be observed for the German market as well. Yet there are also differences between genres and age group focuses regarding the extent to which the cover will be localised (Clements, interview, 24 March 2004).

It should be apparent that there are both internal forces, as well as external notions governing what is considered the proper imagery and design of the cover. During my fieldwork, I observed that in the publishing houses, the cover design is not only an

issue of discussion within the publishing house, but also between the licensee and the original Japanese publisher. Furthermore, the design and layout of certain manga genres seems to follow certain unwritten standards. Gothic and mystery storylines especially are usually associated with dark subdued colours in Western publications. In Japan, this genre-colour association does not seem to exist so exclusively. Especially *shôjo* titles retain the tendency to employ an array of lively colours, similar to other titles aimed at a female audience. It is interesting to note that while the modern Japanese horror genre is known in the West for its bleak, often bleached-out, colour schemes, traditional Asian ghost and horror stories often include colourful demons. The greater amount of colour in the images is not as surprising as it might seem at first glance, since it has historical roots in Shinto, as well as Hindu and Buddhist, demons and monsters, which are colourful (c.f. Addiss 1985; Stevens 1997). Again, the way these differences are dealt with depends, to no small extent, on the Japanese publisher. As I observed, the same publisher might actually grant permission for a modified cover in one country and withhold it in another. As there is no unified rule on the cover design, it is not always a possible to identify clearly the manga's genre at first glance (Zeidenitz, interview, 07 September 2003).

The organisational decision-making processes necessary to decide on the final cover also differ from company to company. Carlsen Comics had a 'cover round' every half year where the whole comic section (Production, Editorial, Marketing, Sales) debated the possibilities as a group and viewed drafts from the graphic designers in an open forum. The final decision was made by the Production Department, though, and then sent to the license source for approval.[96] The different areas of expertise of the various departments are combined in the following cycle. The Sales Department has market knowledge based on customer research; sometimes this can lead to a suggestion of colours to be avoided in the future and sometimes to a whole new format. The Editorial Department acts as link to the customers and fandom, for example, by their knowledge of the aesthetic taste displayed in fan art in fan letters and the framing of the titles on web pages, while the Marketing Department has a clear indication of what would make a good key image for the marketing content. The graphic artists, on the other hand, know the images the licence makes available to the publisher, and which fonts and colours are available.

[96] This process was in place prior to the restructuring of the Carlsen Comics in 2004. It is unknown to me if this is still the case.

4.25 Cover auf *Banzai!* No.10 and *Daisuki* No.1

One of the discussions that took place while I was interning at Carlsen Comics concerned the *Daisuki* logo. The magazine was going to be targeted at girls so the publisher wanted to set the logo apart from the boys' anthology *Banzai!*, yet at the same time, the Marketing Department wanted them to feel sufficiently similar to be recognizable as a Carlsen Comics' branded product. The *Banzai!* logotype used bold capital letters followed by an exclamation mark. Early on, the graphic designers decided that the new logotype, like *Banzai!*'s, would change its colour depending on the background image.[97] This left not only the font, but also the question of whether or not the letters should be bold, as in the case of *Banzai!* or if they should perhaps be in italics to look more whimsical. Italic letters, according to the Production Department, however, were likely to be visually lost on the busy cover, so other notions of playfulness were suggested and tested in a discursive session between the Editorial, Marketing and Production Departments. Finally, links between letters, giving the logo a flowing feeling like handwriting, a mixture of capital and lower letters and differently coloured stars as replacements for the dots on the "i's" were used to convey playfulness (Schindler, interview, 30 August 2002). Sometimes these discussions might just change the colour bar or the font of the logo, but as Brody pointed out, "The way something is represented defines the way you react to it" (in Helvetica, interview, 2007: 40:16 min) and thus, the incorporation of the reactions of people with such different foci ensures that the cover is readable in all channels and reaches its intended audience.

At Tokyopop, on the other hand, I observed that the power to make major decisions about covers rested within the graphic design part of the production department, although editors and the marketing and sales departments sometimes contributed informal suggestions. This insularity of the designers was apparent in such debates and there was more emphasis on the artistic vision of the individual designer. Obviously, the way both organisations deal with covers is quite different. Carlsen

[97] The base colours used in PR and marketing materials are pink and green for *Banzai!* and orange and pink for *Daisuki*.

Comics has an officially established forum that takes place on regular intervals while Tokyopop follows a far more informal pattern. However, in both cases, the influence of the voices outside the graphics department might or might not be heard.

As this chapter has shown, some of the people involved in the localisation process, like freelance translators and re-writers, focus solely on their specific task and the corresponding textual or visual aspect of the medium. They are not involved in the larger discussions that contextualise the different aspects of each manga's localisation. To these specialists, a manga is, in a large part, only a text or an image. The final creation of the product by combining imagery and text in a local context is the task of the editors and retouch artists as well as the departments that concentrate on the articulation and dissemination of the product, such as PR, sales and marketing. It is to them I will turn in the following chapter.

Chapter 5
All in Context - Retouch, Editing and PR

As the previous chapter has shown, a manga that is being localised is literally taken apart during the first stages of the physical localisation process. Every part is treated as a specific and unconnected item that is given the full attention of specialised professionals. The editor, much like a line-manager, keeps track of the different parts that are being 'constructed' mostly by contractors, and that are sent to the assembly line. Once the editor has been informed that all the 'raw' parts have been completed, he sends the material into retouch. From here on, the product is assembled and put through quality assurance (QA) steps before it is deemed finished.

The moment the manga components are sent into retouch, the text and the picture become one singular contextualised medium with a specific content again. Lettering and retouching onomatopoeia, both of which are now added to the existing artwork, are carried out in a similar process and so they will be discussed together. While it is the editor's responsibility to make sure that the manga is coherent, it is the PR Department's job to place this new product into a context within the medium itself and the brand image of the publisher for both partners and audiences. This chapter will follow the manga through these steps starting with the physical reassembly during retouch.

5.1 Retouch

Re-touching and cleaning of the visual content used to be a job for those graphic artists with a steady hand and a good eye for the tiniest details. In the early days of manga localisations, the publishers received films from the Japanese publishers containing the original material. This material was then mirrored by the graphic designer as he transferred the content onto cels.[98] These cels were placed on a lit worktable and the graphic artist used various tools to erase the parts of the print that were to be replaced, such as the words, the onomatopoeia, and possible dirt or other particles that might have polluted the material during photographic transfer. In cases

[98] A cel (or sometimes 'cell' in American English) is usually a clear sheet of acetate or nitrate paper, which is used as a carrier material for the imagery transferred onto it. The image can be changed by scratching off parts of the print or using ink to add new elements.

where companies are aware that their comics will be published in various language regions, they often prepare either coloured - or black-and-white art - only copies to cut down on the work that needs to be carried out at the localiser's end (Kunzle 1975:15). In the case of manga, the graphic designer in charge of the retouching process receives two separate data sets at the beginning of his work: the cleaned artwork and the digital text file. These are often accompanied by the previously mentioned property bible and/or the style guide in order to give the designer a clearer understanding of the book's genre and overall narrative. Much as with scanning, at Carlsen Comics, the majority of today's retouch and lettering is outsourced, while it is produced in-house at Tokyopop. Carlsen Comics' Production Department, while possessing people with the necessary skills, mostly just supervises outsourced contractors and freelancers (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002).

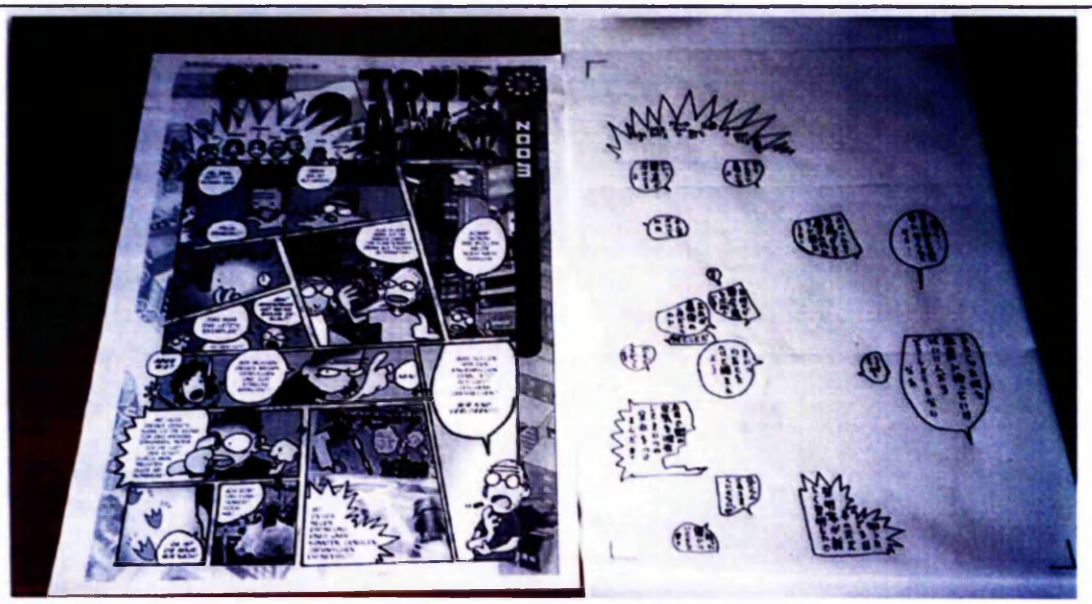
At the beginning of manga localisation, graphic designers reversed manga's reading direction through mirroring the pictorial data (flipping, often also referred to as flopping), re-formatting the size to fit Western standards, and erasing all onomatopoeia by hand. Furthermore, quite a number of graphic artists act both as retouch artists and as letterers, working either by hand on cels or by using modern computer programs, such as Quark. Traditionally, the cleaned cels would be handed to the letterer who would transfer the translated text onto either the same cel, or more often, onto a second one, which would accompany the artwork sheet as seen in image 5.3 This latter technique makes it possible to use the same retouched pictorial data for various languages without having to erase the words again, a process I observed at Panini, which publishes manga in three languages.[99] This Italian company has centralised their production structure in their motherhouse in Modena. Panini publishes manga in Italian, German and French, and actually works exclusively with Italian graphic artists and letterers (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Due to the letterers' lack of French and German language skills, the final QA checks of the manga have to be even more thorough in order to make sure that the quality of the language is not compromised by misspellings or faulty word separations. Panini is, to my knowledge, the only publisher who supplies their outsourced letterers with two text files, that is, the standard text file, and one text file

[99] Panini is Planet Manga – Italy, Planet Manga – Germany and Génération Comics – France. All their production units are centralised in Northern Italy pooling their graphic designers in one department for all three areas. Their marketing and sales units are localised in the respective countries.

including all the syllabifications. This approach to lettering is only feasible due to the lower costs in Italy when compared with Germany or France (ibid.). Despite this difference, some of Carlsen Comics' graphic artists are actually classically trained in the older art of hand-lettering and type development (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). Modern technology allows such classically trained letterers to turn a hand lettering style into a computer font, also known as typeface, and claim copyright to it, thus increasing the styles available to others in their creative expression (ibid.). The letterer thereby creates the opportunity to make his personal handwriting accessible to other publishers and artists for a fee (Helvetica, documentary, 2007). This digitalisation of letters echoes the translation of letters at the beginning of book print. Many of the fonts seen in the public domain today once were personal styles as well (ibid.) As becomes apparent here, choosing between the classical approach of hand lettering and the digital alternative is influenced by both time and financial constraints, since hand lettering a manga can actually take up to twenty days (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002), while the digital alternative usually takes less than a week, as I observed.

5.1 A German *mangaesque* comic

5.2 Comic with transferred translated text



5.3 Hand lettered Japanese template

I was able to observe the process of professional hand lettering being executed during my visit to the Panini production office in August 2003. I became further familiarised with the process when I was given the chance to carry out personally the Japanese translation and hand lettering displayed in images 5.2 and 5.3. After some trial and error, I managed to settle on a size that would actually allow me to fit all the text into the speech bubbles while still being legible. While lettering speech bubbles is usually quite straightforward once a typeface has been decided upon, retouching onomatopoeia can be complex and challenging. Unlike the font used for the speech patterns, every onomatopoeia has its own visual needs that have to be met as the images 4.5 to 4.9 show. If the artist in question wants to mimic the Japanese sound as closely as possible, as shown in image 4.10, it can take some considerable time.

I saw that both Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop, like the majority of companies, had already started to transfer at least part of their graphic process to new paper- and cel-less digital production techniques. That is, the digitalised pages are transferred into a computer format and are changed there, normally using Mac computers, which, as I saw at both the German and American publishing companies, are the preferred tool of graphic designers. The digital process makes it easier to change the pages in a more cost-effective way and easier to reverse changes since the original scans are usually archived in the property folders. However, it also means that lettering becomes standardized, since only a limited amount of fonts are available. While it is

possible to create new fonts, this usually does not happen due to the already-mentioned cost of paying copyright fees (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002).

The existing literature on the retouching process generally comprises instruction manuals, rather than theoretical works or case studies of people involved in the processes.[100] There are some existing works on special effects in film production (c.f. Laybourne 1998; Blair 2004), yet none of these deal with the transformation of existing materials or what the working conditions are like. Dorfmann and Matelart's (1975) work on *Donald Duck* only mentions retouching in terms of censorship, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven, and colour-adage, since the Disney comics arrive without textual components or art. Lutz and Collins touch upon the subject of the possible retouching of photos in terms of authorship and authenticity as well as alterations that censor or repair (1993:66 and 81f). However, both of these works fail to engage with the people carrying out these changes and remain completely medium-based.

As it turns out, the work being done is usually very solitary since the artist focuses on his title, which for consistency reasons, is usually handled only by him. There is a tremendous difference between lettering and retouching in terms of contextualisation. Some graphic designers told me that they feel out of touch with the story's context during retouch, due to their focus on each page, or image even, as a distinct piece of artwork requiring their creative eye. Lettering, unlike retouching, always has to take the book, or more specifically in the case of manga, the series as a whole in order to be consistent throughout the series - this is the only way to give the series a coherent feeling (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). After all, along with the artwork, the size and style of the font help to give the book its distinct look and feel. Different lettering fonts, just like differently illustrated onomatopoeia, carry a mood within themselves, thus they can give the book a scientific, *romantic*, old-fashioned, **dramatic**, childish, or even `journalistic` feeling. As Poyner explains, typefaces give the textual expression a certain colour and mood (interview in Helvetica 2007:02:51 min). Brody expands on this notion when he argues that "you can take the same message and present it in three different typefaces... the immediate

[100] Examples of popular magazines would be *Popular Photography & Imaging*, *Communication Arts*, *the PSA Journal*, and books focusing on specific computer programmes, such as *Adobe Photoshop*, or tool sets, such as airbrush.

emotional response will be different" (interview in Helvetica 2007:40:22 min). Thus, it is not the legibility of the text that communicates; it is choosing the right style to carry the words' meaning.

After the lettering and retouching are finished, a work print is done. A preliminary copy is handed back to the responsible editor who assigns a copy-editor to proofread the copy. During this QA, the copy editor looks for possible mistakes that have occurred and whether or not the texts lie within the safety margins.[101] After the QA has taken place and the green light is given by the editorial to the production department, classically, the cels are transformed into printing plates. Changes at this stage are rather expensive (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003; Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002), though digital graphic programmes have brought down the costs of these last-minute changes, increasing the possibilities of QA.

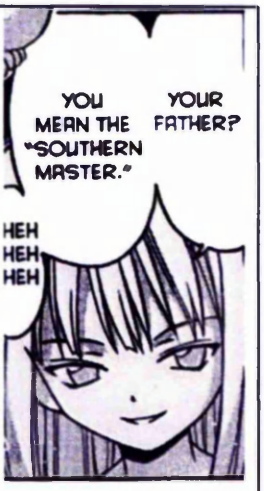
5.2 Copy-Editing

Copy-editors, who are responsible for a manga's QA, checking not only if the layout fits in the margins,[102] but also specifically checking the books for canon consistency, grammar and spelling, have increased in importance. For example, Del Rey's publication of the first three volumes of the boy magician-focused *Negima* seemed to be missing a style guide. Here, together with the translator, the terms used in the first volume had changed by the third one. It is, therefore, no surprise that the company had changed the translator yet again by volume six, the volume that was entering pre-production at the time volume three reached the shelves. The following pictures show references to the same character and props. While the first example is based on the translator's judgement as to how to render a word appropriately in their own vernacular, the second one is a clear translation mistake. Yet, both, due to their nature, would have been noticed if a style guide for the series had been created and utilised.

[101] Sometimes printing plates can be slightly off and in order to make sure that no text gets lost when the pages are cut, publishers usually work with a margin at the border in which they try to avoid inserting text.
[102] For a visualised representations of these margins refer to Image 4.2.

5.4 *Arigatô boku no tsue* –
Thank you… my (Wizard) staff/wand

5.5 Explaining the origin of the name 'Thousand Master'



5.6 Mistranslation as
'Southern Master'

The first example is a simple choice difference between the two translators, who chose to translate the Japanese word *tsue*[103] in two different ways. The term refers to the spell-casting tool of the main character, a young wizard. Using the term (wizard) 'staff' is a more classical decision, which pays attention to the look of the prop and is closer to the original Japanese rendering. The use of the term 'wand', chosen by the second translator, reflects the currently popular description of a wizard's spell-casting tool after the popularity of the *Harry Potter* books. While, strictly speaking, both translations are correct, normally the designation of such an important element in the story is established at the beginning and then used consistently (Hurchalla, interview, 14 July 2003). Due to this need for continuity, publishers normally stress that it is more important to keep the same re-writer or copy-editor on a project rather than having the same translator, in order to guarantee said continuity.

The second example shown above is a translation mistake, yet, again, it would have been noticed with the help of a style guide. The English translation of the Japanese katakana expression *sauzando masuta*, while originally correctly translated as 'Thousand Master', was later mistranslated as 'Southern Master'. The mistake was corrected in re-prints of the volume. In cases like these, and all other kind of errors that are noticed after publication, companies develop so called galley proofs. These proofs record the mistakes and they are referred to before a book goes into a new print run in order to erase the mistakes. As I observed, galley proofs can take very

[103] Possible common translations are: My cane, staff, walking stick etc.

different forms, from printed hard copies with attached notes at the specific pages to keeping a record of digital notes. They are held by the production departments and can contain contributions from every department.

5.3 The Editors

In the last two chapters, the one group that has been weaving in and out of the narrative on a constant basis is the editors. The editor's main function in the production cycle is to keep track of the property and ensure its consistency (Lohmann, interview, 23 September 2003; Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). He is the one who can influence a book's flavour by picking freelancers whose creative leanings correspond to what he wants to achieve for the book. In other words, he "picks the raw materials and shapes them into a product" (Gürtler, questionnaire, March 2002:1). He is also the one person usually aware of what the avid fans of a series on which he is working like or dislike about the books, and he can try to influence the balance accordingly. He is responsible for ensuring the book holds to the set deadlines and ultimately is responsible for a book's quality. However, keeping the quality at the same level for one title is not always easy since freelancers come and go. With long running series, which often get published over the course of two to three years, translators, re-writers and editors tend to start in one combination at volume one; however, they are rarely in the same combination at the end of the same series (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). This is based on the increase in the transitory workforce used, from graphics, through translation to re-writing. These constant shifts complicate maintaining a book's consistency since no two people carry out the same task in exactly the same way. I observed the changeover of personnel to be more frequent in the USA, where freelancers seem to have a stronger tendency to change their work more regularly. The aforementioned style guides, originally a typical tool for long-running series, be they television or comic productions, have increased in importance (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). They need to be more detailed and extensive than in the past in order to avoid mistakes being made.

With more people making up the chain that needs to be co-ordinated, the producer has to decide whether he is willing to calculate longer production times or if he is

going to insist on shorter periods between the various deadlines. Usually, it is the latter: "In principle, we are constantly dealing with issues of time ... In the case of the Japanese comics, this is mainly due to the sometimes rather late arrival of [Japanese] materials" (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Müller's point applies to all the editorial departments I saw during my research, and was also reflected in my interviews with the other publishers. Increasingly, the editor is equivalent to a film director or the producer of a television show. His work has moved closer to the Japanese set-up in which the editor has foremost a managing function concerning all the different stages of production (Schodt 1996:144). This function of managing and co-ordinating people and deadlines dominated the editorial meetings at Carlsen Comics and the flow meetings at Tokyopop. These meetings, which usually take place either at the beginning or the end of the week, are used to discuss the status of properties currently in production as well as possible new and recently acquired licenses. Possible features for new titles, such as those that are necessary (shrink-wrapping, age-warning stickers) and those that are wanted (bonus elements) are also discussed. The same holds true regarding procedural changes to the workflow that are implemented. At Tokyopop, the status of each project was checked and then logged in the production plan. At Carlsen, these status changes were marked when they occurred by the individual employees. So, considering the highly diverse tasks an editor handles, how does he go about achieving his goals?

5.3.1 Juggling Freelancers, Co-workers and Readers

The first thing I became aware of during my fieldwork is that every manga has a schedule, a so-called production plan, which is set up at the beginning of the localisation task. It not only lists all the different deadlines for all the tasks and departments, it also holds the names of the various people that have been assigned or contracted to carry out specific tasks related to its production. It allows all the in-house parties involved to follow the progress of any given book. The editor is responsible for the completion of all textual components, indicating their resemblance, and for giving the eventual green light for its manufacture. After the project has begun, the editor in charge of the title becomes the focal point for information and cross-referencing between all the parties involved. If, for example,

the re-writer has questions or complaints about the translation, they make these via the editor (Lohmann, interview, 23 September 2003; Taylor, interview, 11 July 2003).

In the case of manga, unlike when working with original creations, the content is already fixed when it arrives at the desk of the Western editor. While he has an influence on what form the dramatization of the final text takes, the medium's content is a given. It is this content that influences the editors' directions as to what form the text should take, keeping in mind the audience at which the book is targeted. His first choice, that of a translator, is thus informed by whether the title is a fan-favourite or a title with a possible broad appeal, the age-bracket and gender configuration of the target audience and, last but not least, the translator's availability. A major part of the decision-making process involves the age of the potential audience and the assumed familiarity they have with the medium. Early manga translations in the late 1980s catered to the, at the time, slowly developing, more-mainstream-orientated adult readership, which prompted brand labels such as *Comic Art* and *Edition Comic* in Germany and the rise of the graphic novel in Anglophone countries. At the time, however, fears still lingered in many Western countries regarding Japan. This kind of fear was felt at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as well when Japanese companies bought American film studios: "Suddenly, there [was] an anxiety about exposure to, and penetration by, Japanese culture. The fear [was] that Japanese investors [were] 'buying into America's soul'" (Morley and Robins 1995:150). These worries mirror the European fear about domination through American media products. At that time, the manga being translated, as mentioned before, were mostly aimed at an adult niche-audience; therefore, the manga escaped rather unscathed in terms of limitations. The years 2004 and 2005 saw not just the rise of manga's popularity, but also an increase in self-censorship and calls for censorship, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven. This time, publishers responded due to the large number of minors reading their publications. In all these three distinct areas, it was and remains part of the editor's job to gauge whether changes to the content of the manga are necessary or not. These can be most easily achieved through a re-write.

Once the text is back from the translator, the editor hands it to the re-writer he has chosen for the project. Like the translators, "each re-writer has a certain style that

comes through no matter what they are doing" (Fox, interview, 14 July 2003). When editors deal with new re-writers that they have not tested before, it is not uncommon for them to compare the raw translation to the rewritten text in order to gauge the style and level of interpretation that have been employed with respect to the original (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003). Part of the editor's job is to be aware of the textual strength and weaknesses of each re-writer and use them depending on the text in question. At the beginning of a new series, it is not uncommon for the editor to discuss with the re-writer how certain characters should sound (ibid.). They might also discuss the level of dysphemistic language and agree on changes such as replacing "this sucks" with "this stinks" (Taylor, interview, 11 July 2003).

In terms of the overall localisation, editors do not normally see the dumbing-down of a manga's content as an appropriate way to deal with a text. According to Reyes, "usually a kid who picks up a book is determined to understand it" (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003), yet "when you are writing for a youth audience a lot of literary clichés, a lot of alliterations and stuff like that will be less appreciated and are probably more confusing" (ibid.). Due to this, as already mentioned, editors tend to steer youth titles towards a younger jargon and they tend to use pop culture references of which teenagers *are* aware; the majority of these are relatively local. These different decisions with regards to the type of translation and style of the re-write create a chasm between the needs and wishes of the casual reader and the fan (Jüngst 2004:92); the editor has to be aware of this and juggle different aspects accordingly. This struggle will be explored in more detail below.

While manga have already gone through the original Japanese production process and, thus, some of the tasks an editor usually carries out have fallen by the wayside, others are added to the role based on the skills required when work is being carried out on a localising. The textual work editors supervise basically shifts from being that of the original artists to being the work of local translators and re-writers. Other traditional tasks, such as keeping the project within prescribed financial and temporal borders, still apply. Deadlines are very important in the print business since slots at the printers need to be booked in advance. If, for whatever reason, the print run gets delayed on the side of the publishers, the price of the print run will rise; much as in

flight schedules, a book might lose its place in the queue and it will cost money to place it back straight away since this will put pressure on the other projects the printer has booked.

Many people confuse the work of a re-writer/reader with the work done by an editor. While an editor at times might fill both roles, the skills needed for the two jobs are very different, as those who have held both jobs tend to point out. Flanagan, a long standing manga translator, re-writer and former editor responded to the internet post of a confused *AOD* poster in the following way:

> I'm afraid you have a misimpression if you think that the rewriter's and editor's jobs are the same. An editor should be able to produce a well-written dialog balloon to backup the rewriter, but the editor's main job is to oversee the entire process to make sure that the printed book gets out on time and as perfect as it can be. The ability to rewrite should be a skill that the editor only has to use sparingly (AOD #699993 Flanagan, online, 2004)

Finally, my interview data reveal that quite a few editors started as re-writers or turned to re-writing on a free-lance basis later on when they changed jobs.

5.3.2 Negotiating Expectations

Throughout the process, the editor has to keep the expectations of various groups in mind: those of his employer, those of the licence source and those of the prospective audience. As Searleman pointed out to me, an editor has to please a lot of people all at once (interview, 19 July 2003): the licence source, the readers, the fans and, of course, the editor's employers.

The Japanese publishers have increasingly insisted on a consistency of character names and spellings within one and the same intellectual property (manga, anime, game, merchandise) not just within one market, but across all licensed territories. This is seen as increasingly important by the Japanese licensors due to their wish to keep the property coherent while raising its brand recognition. It has become quite popular among Japanese publishers to assign fixed Romanised character names to popular series and characters that are to be used outside Japan, an indicator of the Japanese interest in the uniform brand recognition of their products abroad. This

leads, for example, to pressure on the manga publisher to keep to the names that have been established in anime localisations or that have been assigned beforehand by the Japanese publisher in order to uphold language continuity within one intellectual property. As EMA's publication of the comedy manga *Crayon Shin-Chan* demonstrates, keeping to the original style of the manga language can actually be fatal for a book in the market if the preceding anime translation is done in a completely different style and, therefore, creates a different kind of audience than the audience for the manga translation. The anime adaptation of *Crayon Shin-Chan* was shown by the German television station RTL2 in their afternoon anime slot, which caters for a mixed child and teenage audience. As Klötzer points out (interview, 27 August 2003), it was strongly localised and a lot 'sassier and snottier' than the Japanese original, while EMA's manga translation kept to the more adult-orientated language, which is featured in the Japanese original. It transpired that the pre-established television audience could not connect to the manga. In contrast, the American translation of the *Crayon Shin-Chan* manga by ComicsOne sold well (Sanders, interview, 23 July 2004), while the German publication failed and had to be discontinued (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003). These sorts of experiences make Western publishers, and their Japanese licensors, more aware of the problems that such diverging texts might cause (ibid.) It is, therefore, not unusual for the Japanese source of the licence to insist on pre-established names and catch phrases being used in order to avoid such failures in the future (Searleman, interview, 19 July 2003). It also shows that the majority of people, once used to a specific form of text, both in terms of content and voice, find it difficult to build up a relationship with a new version if this text diverges from that of which they have become fans (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003).

Malefyt and Moeran have pointed out in the past that "most products are 'constructed' with a *future* consumer in mind" (2003:20); hence, one of the constant juggling acts the editor has to solve is between localising for the fans and localising for a broader audience. As already alluded to in Chapter Four, fans want their manga to be as authentic as possible (Searleman, interview, 19 July 2003). Part of the editor's role is to determine the audience for the manga in his care before it goes into print. While it is relatively easy to determine what manga fans like, due the tendency of fans to "seek intimacy with the object of their attention" (Kelly 2004:9), it is much

harder to know what the broader audience expects. As Myers (1999:170) points out, in the end, any target audience is always a constructed entity, in other words, a fiction. Yet companies need these constructed entities in order to use them when presenting themselves to their licence sources in Japan or business partners in their own country. In other words, it is a useful fiction turned into a mutually-agreed-upon standard (Moores 1993:3). The majority of manga readers in the twenty-first century fall into the categories of casual readers, followers or genre-related users. While publishers adapt their publications to a certain extent to aim at a perceived reader group (audience design) (Hatim and Mason 1997:12), the group they are specifically aiming at, especially with potential best sellers, is not the hard core fan group that normally only constitutes about 5 to 10% of the sales on these titles, but a broader audience. With fan-favourite titles in lower print runs, the focus might shift towards the fan-preferred form of text. In any case, it is a title-by-title decision.

5.3.3 Quality Assurance

The editor's final task is a quality check of the copy editor's work.[104] At this point, all the text and graphic work has been done. The now reassembled manga is either being delivered to the editor's desk in the form of bluelines or, more recently, in the form of a digital document. This is where one of the biggest organisational shifts has taken place. Every manga company I researched used Apple computers for their graphics; however, the editors had regular Microsoft PCs. This limits the possibilities for an editor actively to change anything within the document; with the changeover to specific document formats, the digital work copies of the manga became viewable on PCs. However, the documents are now locked and no longer allow the editor to implement changes on screen as they had been able to do in the early days of the shift to digital. My research period at Tokyopop coincided with this changeover leading to both positive and negative feelings expressed on the part of the editors. Some felt that the structure had shifted back to what it used to be and others expressed a feeling of loss, due to them no longer being able to make physical changes themselves. This loss was described as a curtailment of their creative input into the book. The only possibility the editor now has is to print out the pages that are questionable, mark the changes physically on the print-out, and then hand the printed

[104] Not all publishers differentiate between copy editors and editors; in most cases they are the same.

pages back to the copy editor, the letterer or the graphic designer, much as he did with the corrected bluelines in the past. This means that, in the future, when the transfer to digital is complete, the editor will no longer hold a complete copy of the book in his hands until the review copies arrive from the printer, whereas, formerly, editors had access to the bluelines and/or work prints. Thus, while the number of times an editor has access to each book has increased, the overall work in relation to each book has decreased, and the editor's viewing of the property has become more fragmented. Ergo, as with all technological advancements, both designers and editors see this new process as having both positive and negative sides (e.g. Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). The drawbacks are seen not just in terms of access and power balance, but also as in what is seen as the actual work carried out. The benefits are that the books can be more easily transferred over greater distances without mundane events, such as strikes or weather conditions, keeping the data from reaching the printer (Klamert, interview, 24 January 2003). Yet, viruses, the internet and server breakdowns pose new possible threats. The volume of waste paper publishers generate in the end has been drastically reduced. On the other hand, getting used to the new medium and the possible fluxes of the system, such as off-colouring, takes some time since most editors and quite a few graphic artists were trained in the old style of production.

After the final check has been completed, a handover occurs at Carlsen Comics, with the property becoming the responsibility of the Production Department, which has arranged for printing slots (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002). In the case of Tokyopop, it stays within the same department, but is handed over to one of their production co-ordinators, who fulfil the same role (Klamert, interview, 24 January 2003). While publishers normally send somebody from the Production Department on a press (aka print) check, editors get sent only once in a while, to make sure they know about this part of production that translates their work into a physical reality (ibid.) However, this presence does not guarantee that everything always moves along smoothly; print machines can break down and computers can crash. Something can get caught between the printing plates and the page, as happened in one Tokyopop volume that featured a print of a real fly, which had become caught between the press and paper, where it did not belong. As I observed, the binding of a particular run (usually a few hundred copies) can go wrong if, for some reason, the

computer designates a package of pages (every manga is broken down into various shorter parts that are printed together during the printing process) with the wrong label, in which case, some pages might re-occur; or if the computer places the pages in the wrong direction, in which case they might be upside down or backward, as recently happened to a volume of Dark Horse's *Berserk* (Miura 2003[1989]):

> The problem with Berserk 5 is a printing error, pure and simple. The advance copies and later warehouse copies we received we all fine, so I don't think the problem is widespread. This kind of thing is literally a matter of somebody at the bindery picking up a pile of the wrong signature (a section of pages, usually 16 or 32) during the binding process. Typically when this happens, its a very short run, a few hundred copies at most, although books from that run can end up widely distributed (Editor Chris Warner, Posted: 15 October 2004, Dark Horse Forum)

What is important to note here is that the printers are obliged by contract to produce the right number of proper books. Therefore, if production errors occur at the printer's end, the publisher can press for a price reduction or, in the case of major faults, request for the books to be re-printed in the proper form without having to pay extra. On the other hand, printers are free agents, meaning publishers have to book print runs in advance and keep to deadlines to make these. Rearranging a print run slot is difficult and expensive since there are other projects the printers have to complete according to contract as well (Düsedau, interview, 30 August 2002).

Publishers are always trying to find less expensive printers and quite a few move their printing abroad in order to save costs (Sanders, interview, 23 July 2004). Panini print all their titles, including German and French translations, in Italy since the printers are cheaper. Yet this also means that the Editorial Department, as in the case of the letterers and graphic designers, has to be even more careful about quality control in order to avoid mistakes (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Publishing abroad, however, leaves the publisher more vulnerable to transport problems. ComicsOne, who printed in Taiwan, were badly affected by the shipyard strikes and quite a few of their titles reached the outlets only after severe delays (Sanders, interview, 23 July 2004).

5.3.4 Differences in Background

Having described various aspects of the editor's job, I would now like to identify who these editors are. Demographically speaking, my data indicate that the majority of editors both in the USA and Germany are between twenty-five and forty years of age.

The relatively narrow age-bracket of full-time employees also supports Handy's argument (1998:72 and 76) that the core of the shamrock is an employment form in which we spend less time in our professional lives, moving into it at a specific point and then moving out of it again.

During my research, it seemed that German publishers had more female editors than did the American comics' publishers. Where manga are concerned, however, I observed a gender breakdown of equal numbers of male and female editors in both countries, although the men still dominated slightly, especially in leading positions. The re-writers, on the other hand, at the time of my fieldwork, were predominantly women, although this gender breakdown seems to have moved towards a more even distribution in the USA. Still, to a certain extent, this difference in status still displays traditional gender roles as they can be found in many forms of the publication industries, as Bacon-Smith (1992:68ff) and others have pointed out.

The majority of editors have some sort of university or college education, although some come from fields unrelated to subjects dealing with language and editing. Those who do not have a college education seem to be even more likely to have been working for other comic book or manga publishers beforehand. The number of people who have moved between different publishers is quite astounding considering the small size of the business as such. At Carlsen Comics, three of the editors had previously worked for other German manga publishers. Two more had worked for other comic publishers before joining the company. The situation in the USA is slightly more diverse; quite a few of the editors had come either from different comic-book-related companies or from magazine and book publishing.

Although editors come from a variety of different backgrounds, most of them do have experience with writing themselves, as I have already noted (for example, Forbes, Kaps, Knigge, Reyes, Taylor). Some of them emerge from the manga and anime fandom to become professionals, while others have had no contact with manga whatsoever before starting their editorial tenure. Finding the right mix between these two groups seems to be the most important part in creating a balanced editorial department. Every competitor can copy a company's production and products, yet the personality of the organization, or its people (Thomas, quoted in Webster 2003:1) is unique and, on the public relations level, one of the company's biggest assets. Creating a distinct image utilising their editors as ambassadors makes a lot of sense

in this context; after all, they are the 'link', imagined or not, to the original Japanese product. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

The shift to a more managerial and representative position is seen by some editors as a relief, while others told me they felt that it curbed the creative input they had in their job. The managerial roles now have more in common with the job description of television producers who run a writers' room and props department,[105] or, in this case, translators, re-writers and graphic designers, who supply the verbal and visual backbone for an ongoing series. This reflects the fact that companies see it as more important to keep the same re-writer on a project than to keep the same editor. Yet, I observed much that is similar in the TV productions' circuit; it is the editor, along with the translator, who takes the final credit or blame for a title. They are also the faces sought by fans at conventions and are, therefore, in need of being familiar with the most recent internal workings of characters and storylines, in addition to being familiar with their publisher's corporate culture. Although these fairs and conventions are marketing and possibly PR events and they are dealt with as such, they are also a place where the readers and the persons they see in charge of the books meet. This 'relationship' between readers and the industry that produces the serial texts (and most translated manga are serials) is a rather common one and can be found in a variety of genres and media, such as sci-fi TV series (e.g. Tulloch and Jenkins 1995) or romance novels (e.g. Modeleski 1982; Radway 1984); it is what distinguishes them from novels or films (Hagedorn 1995:27) and will be discussed in Chapter Six and Seven.

That the editors and other staff names are known by part of the audience reflects the fact that although manga are moving into the mainstream they are at heart still a fandom-related media form. This knowledge about the who's who of the company's editors reflects the closeness of this group to the text (manga), which stands at the core of their fandom, and the editors who are seen as the major 'visible' influences on the text (Forbes, interview, 11 July 2003; Schweitzer, interview, 30 August 2002). As with the extra marketing roles editors fill at times, they are at other times also seen as

[105] Writers' Room is the term in the television industry. The work on television scripts moves, much as do manga translations, through different stages and hands before taking the shape of the final script that is filmed. In the writer's room, the story is first pitched as a basic story idea, it moves through the construction of scenes towards actual dialogue and setting information (Sundel 2006:28). At various stages, the script is returned to the discussion realm of the writer's room (see Greenberg 2006), much like a manga returns at various stages to the editor.

a focus point for the properties under their care by both the outside fans and, by default, within the company (Lohmann, interview, 23 September 2003). They link every step of the production together, forging it into a whole. From supplying the marketing, PR and Sales Department with the information needed to market the titles, through text and pictorial style and coherence, everything comes together at the editor's desk (Gürtler, interview, 03 July 2002). This does not mean that the editor is the sole power in decisions made on the property. These days, age ratings, parental warning stamps and possible censorship are often thought up by the Sales and Marketing Departments due to past experiences they have had in trying to sell or market a similar title (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002; Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). The final decision on which titles will be licensed also normally rests with the CEOs and COOs of the publishers, although editors, as I observed, tend to have a voice in this. As with translators, editors are also bound by the company guidelines on language styles and visual representation. In other words, they normally work within a clearly defined framework, as far as variations and creative developments are concerned, in order to uphold a uniform style through which the company wishes to present its titles in order to create brand coherence (Parker, interview, 18 February 2003). In the long run, the quality of their books is indeed an important part of keeping the publisher in the business, but, in the end, readers buy books due to their storylines and genres. A science fiction reader is not suddenly going to start reading romantic comedies just because they are produced by the same company. It seems that it is often forgotten that manga is a media format and not a genre, although it is often falsely marketed as one (Kaps 2005:8). Due to this, manga editors have to be quite versatile, because the titles that end up on their tables are so different. My research shows that, on the whole, while only a small number of the genres available in manga form in Japan are currently being translated, nonetheless, the variety of different texts, both in storyline configuration and in age group focus, requires a person who is flexible enough to deal with all of them. The position also requires good communication skills since so many different people need to be coordinated in such a way that they all feel represented in the final product. In the power structure of the company, however, editors are not necessarily the most powerful faction. Sales and marketing are often the departments that decide on both a title's future and the shape it will take, as is discussed in the following chapter. However, before this thesis focuses on the people who literally and figuratively sell the brand, this chapter

focuses on those employees who contextualise it for business partners and the public alike: the PR Department.

5.4 Public Relations

PR, short for Public Relations, just as the Carlsen Comics' title for the department already suggests, is all about communication with the 'public'. The PR manager's most important task is to present the outside world with a coordinated *brand image*.[106] After all, both companies have chosen to aspire to a certain *brand identity* that is strived for in both internal and external (self-) representation. They achieve this precisely through their functioning as information interfaces between the publishers and their external environment. After all, what good is a brand if no one hears about it or sees it? At the end of the day, a "brand must be capable of generating ... publicity in the media... the best way to generate publicity is by being first" (Ries and Ries 2000:27). Both publishers achieved being the first ones in their territory to publish manga in the Japanese reading direction on a broader scale. However, once set up, it is equally important to keep the momentum of a brand going to take advantage of the fact that the press will turn to the publishers of a brand in their search for information and content. Publishers work not only with a variety of different business partners, but also under the gaze of competitors, other media, moral and quasi-political pressure groups that are organised in the public sphere, and the licensors from whom they acquire their source materials (Brada-Thompson, interview, 17 January 2003). This presents the publishers with the multifaceted challenge of dealing with the very different expectations of a variety of organizations, while staying true to the brand identity to which they aspire.

While extremely small media outlets often combine PR and marketing within the same position and huge companies outsource the work to PR agencies, the majority of middle-sized companies distinguish between the two in-house, which allows them to focus on different skills. This is what both Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop did, which is not to say that the two fields are not interrelated and do not plan and execute a variety of projects together, as in fact, they do (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002; Brada-Thompson, interview, 14 July 2003). As mentioned in Chapter

[106] Aaker differentiates between brand image (the actual, factual perception of a brand by outsiders) and brand identity (the aspirational identity a brand aspires to as constructed by the brand managers) (1996: vii).

Three, during my fieldwork at Tokyopop, the Marketing and Sales Department was still one big unit. It was not until a year later, in 2004, that they became reorganised into two separate departments. Their PR person, known as the MarCom Manager, was afterwards situated within the Marketing Department. At Carlsen Comics, on the other hand, PR was part of the Communication Department, with Marketing (*Werbeabteilung*) being a department on its own. Furthermore, there was one person in the Editorial Department who was responsible for advertising sales within Carlsen Comics' publications. As will become apparent throughout the chapter, there are positions in which this different organizational structure had an influence on a person's job description, as was the case of the PR Department.

Some of the information is supplied as regularly as clockwork, such as the bi-annual product preview, which is also sent to the distributors, and from which the press can order review copies. By including an ordering list, the PR officer can channel the review copies towards titles he thinks are relevant (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). These would normally be the initial volumes of debuting series, specials or titles that come under specific themes coordinated with the wider marketing efforts (Dawson, interview, 24 July 2004).

The functions of Public Relations that occur to most laymen are the writing of press releases and holding press conferences. Additionally, the area covers much more ground, such as supplying review copies to journalists, reviewers and organisations, such as the library association; supplying a wide variety of information to journalists, researchers and students; dealing with interview requests; maintaining or supplementing the web presence; dealing with sponsoring requests; monitoring the press coverage of the company and the medium (manga); and constructing the content of trade fair appearances (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). In the case of Carlsen Comics, the moderation of the company's internet forums also came under the remit of the PR manager, although I could observe employees from other departments participating as sub-forum moderators or simply as members.

As can be seen from this short listing, the groups with which the PR Department interacts vary greatly, as does the form the interaction takes. Ranging from personal conversations, through presentations, to moderating and writing, the PR officer has to be versatile and adaptable to any situation and to any people with which he deals. In order to gain a better understanding of the work, I decided to break it down in terms

of interactivity. There is the formal interaction with journalists and researchers that is rather restricted, and the more interactive and far more informal realm of the social networking sites on the internet. Last but not least are the mixed conditions at conventions where the formal and informal conversations collide within the same physical space. Fan conventions in the modern sense have existed for over fifty years now. While the majority of them started out as simple events run by fans for fans, some have developed into brands themselves that attract up to tens of thousands of people. In order to establish separate identities, they started to differentiate their focus in order to stay distinctive. As conventions began to grow, media companies started to show an interest in these events as end consumer-focused marketing opportunities. Most big (semi-)professional conventions run every year like clockwork and, like academic conferences, they boast a programme of opening/closing ceremonies, award shows, talks, presentations and panel discussions. It is the content that differs. Anime and manga conventions usually also include workshops, where fans meet, for example, to draw, make costumes, dub an anime or learn to cook Japanese food. There are also often areas where the publishers, anime labels and other businesses related to the fandom show and often sell their products and where fans can meet the publishers' employees face-to-face. Manga reading and anime screening rooms give visitors further possibilities to sample new products often up to half a year before they become available commercially. With all these programme points going on, publishers are presented with a variety of ways to interact with their core audience and to present themselves in a public space for the scrutiny of the media.

5.4.1 The Press, News Blogs and Nosy People

From my observations, it was clear that the regular media partners with whom Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop interacted could be classified into four distinct categories. Each category required different kinds of information and attention to be given to them, since the contextualisation of manga with regards to different issues varies from group to group (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). First, there is the business press, who are interested in manga as a product produced and sold by a brand name. Second, there are mainstream news outlets and magazines, who relate to manga in a variety of ways from an expression of popular culture to material

dealing with possible moral crises. Third, there are the genre and fandom-focused magazines, which can be interested in the medium itself or in certain sub-genres, and finally, there are the fan-operated newsletters and information portals, which focus on the content of the medium and those who produce it. Positive and negative press coverage or the lack thereof in these areas can have an impact on a publisher's perceived image (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003). While not all of these media are still print media, as quite a few can be found in digital form, the topics and materials covered in these four types tend to be as different as their audiences, and manga publishers are interested in being covered by these media for different reasons.

5.4.1.1 Mainstream

The relationship between publishers and the mainstream press is a two-edged sword. In 2003, Solf and Schmittlutz pointed out that the classical press, in areas such as art, literature and review sections, was in many ways still closed to manga publishers (interview, 27 August 2003). This barrier has begun to disappear as manga's success has continued unabated over the years, but it has not completely vanished. On the one hand, being covered is a question of prestige and can lead to access to a broader audience; on the other hand, it is mostly these carriers who continue to republish old stereotypes, thereby reconfirming long-held beliefs in society.

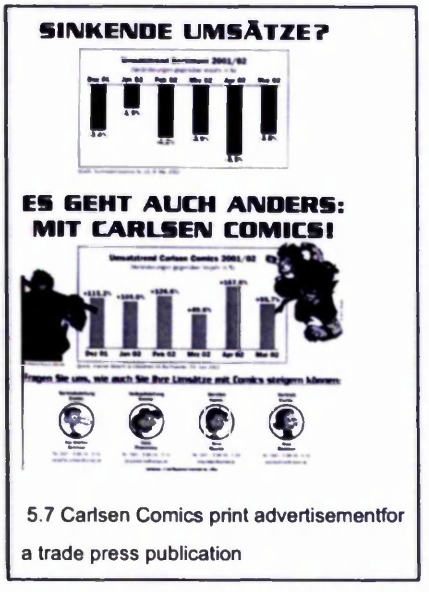
A good example of such a potential PR disaster, which prompted published letters criticising the article from the leading German manga publishers Carlsen Comics and Ema and open letters from two media-related sources, happened in June 2002. The well-known German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* published an article entitled *Manga Chutney – Liebesgrüße aus Tokio* (transl.: Manga Chutney – From Tokyo with Love) (Böckem and Dallach 2002). The article reinforced all the stereotypes regarding sex and violence that have haunted the medium since the 1990s (c.f. Knigge 2003; Clements 1995; Kaps 2005) The authors quoted out of context part of an American convention report, formally published on the Studio Proteus web-page, in order to have quotations for their article. They also falsely attributed artwork in order to prove their point. The supposedly manga centre piece was in reality a Tokyo Pop Art picture by the well-known artist Aida. According to the artist himself, the

inspiration for *The Giant Member Fuji versus King Gidora* (1993) can be found in a woodblock print by Hokusai from 1842 (Aida, presentation, 2002). All of this proves what Sabin (interview, 30 September 2003) and Barker (1989:5) have bemoaned in the past: both journalists and scholars who focus on comics do not feel the need to clearly state their sources and label their materials. In this particular case, however, this strategy backfired since there was such a strong outcry by publishers, comic critics and fans alike. Yet, for the most part, the press coverage of manga is very meagre. It is mostly restricted to descriptions about moral panic, trade fairs and convention blurbs or interviews with home-grown talent and sometimes translators (e.g. Bell, online, 14 March 2005; Wahl, online, 13 June 2005; Pannor, online, 12 November 2003).

5.4.1.2 Business Press

Magazines aimed at the publishing industry and retailers play a vital role in establishing the publishers as brands in the eyes of their competitors and the surrounding business community (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). This became, for both publishers in question, even more important when they switched their format and tried to move it into the book market. A brand image is an important way to gain both the curiosity and the interest of the people who buy the stock. Appearing in publications like *Börsenblatt* or *Buchreport Express* in Germany, and *Publisher's Weekly* or *Bookseller* in the USA is vital in order to reach booksellers.

It is the ever rising sales figures of manga at a time when other print media are stagnating or, worse, declining, that have opened doors that had previously been closed to the publishers of comics (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002; Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). However, this popularity has also been helped by the use of unusual advertisements like the one depicted in Image 5.7, which are placed in the trade press to generate discussion and orders. Carlsen Comics went down the unusual path of openly announcing their increase in revenue margins



5.7 Carlsen Comics print advertisementfor a trade press publication

in an advertisement placed in Börsenblatt (23 July 2002), while I was interning. My vocalised surprise at this strategy was met with the universal answer that the editorial, communication, marketing and sales departments all wanted to generate something that would be talked about, precisely because it was so unconventional. Furthermore, by focusing on the purely financial benefits and their entire programme, they circumvented all the stereotypes associated with manga that normally deter readers from becoming curious. The responses to the advertisement that I am aware of, partly due to the huge run of press packages containing information requests and samples, and partly due to the Distribution Department's happy announcement that they had received numerous requests at their end as well, were positive throughout. However, on the whole, I observed that publishers are more willing to give numbers to the trade press or reputable mainstream media sources than they are to other press publications. However, there is also another type of PR information that is usually disseminated through the trade press, and that is coverage of structural changes. Whether it be the establishment of a new company, the restructuring of a current one or a change in direction (e.g. Börsenblatt 21 May 2004; Publishers Weekly 26 January 2006; Börsenblatt, online, 15 July 2006; ICv2, online, 8 June 2008; Bookseller 13 June 2008:8), they receive coverage, thus informing the publisher's competitors and in a formal setting.

5.4.1.3 Genre Magazines

Both the territories covered by the German and American companies possess a number of high quality magazines aimed in particular at the fans of anime and manga, such as *AnimaniA, Koneko, Yukiko, Manga-Zone* (discontinued 2007) in Germany or *Newtype* (discontinued 2007) and *Protoculture Addicts* in the USA. Unlike the mainstream press and the business press, these publishers do not ask about the content of titles, since they are well aware of it and might have already covered the subject when the manga first appeared in Japan. However, they are extremely interested in what they consider news that their readers might want, such as format, price and release dates. These are the types of magazines that regularly receive advanced copies of all material without having to order them specially. As I have observed over the years, publishers often inform these magazines, in confidence, about licences they have procured, but not yet announced, in order to

make sure that the series will be covered in time for its release. They also arrange for representatives from these magazines to visit their offices (AnimaniA 2004:26f). These magazines, which are seen as bibles by many fans in terms of what is relevant, also often have standing marketing agreements with the publishers in terms of advertisement placements, convention sponsoring, competitions and so forth. It is the constancy of this relationship that sets it apart from the relationship between other professional media.

However, depending on the series, the publishers can decide to widen the magazine genre pool beyond publications focusing on Japanese popular culture. When necessary, the PR and, in conjunction, marketing efforts move into publications focusing on sci-fi, fantasy, gaming or even auto-motor sports (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003). In contrast to the case of the manga and anime magazines, the need for further information that can be supplied by the publisher grows due to the type of more in-depth information fans want to have (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). This normally includes information not only about the series, but also about the author and other major publications within the same genre.

5.4.1.4 Fan-Produced Coverage

There has always been fan coverage of translated manga published in fan newsletters, on mailing lists or on web-pages and blogs. Originally, most of them just wrote about what they owned or what interested them. However, over time, some of these sites have crystallised into semi-professional journalistic news sources in addition to their fandom-focused activities. In Germany, the likes of *Animexx* (the biggest fan club), *Splash Comics* (news about everything comics) or *AnimePro* (mixed anime and manga news page) have taken hold. The best known American pages, *ANN* (Anime News Network) and *AOD* (Anime on DVD) have been mentioned as sources. These websites are so widely known that people have taken to simply using the acronyms when talking about them. Yet, in 2002 and 2003, with the ever expanding web, the number of PR requests from web pages and blogs began to increase rapidly. As Schrader (interview, 23 August 2002) pointed out, it is harder to quantify the reach these reviews have when compared with magazines, since they do not present well researched circulation numbers in the way printed materials do. However, much has changed since that time, and today, tools like Google Analytics,

which I used regularly in my capacity as Marketing Coordinator at ADV Films, give publishers a variety of ways of monitoring web traffic, not only for their own webpage, but also to receive further data on where the people who use their page are dialling in from, how often they visit, and how they reached the page. They can also request this kind of information, in very much the same manner that they can ask for regular media data, with regards to the web pages that request material or request interviews.

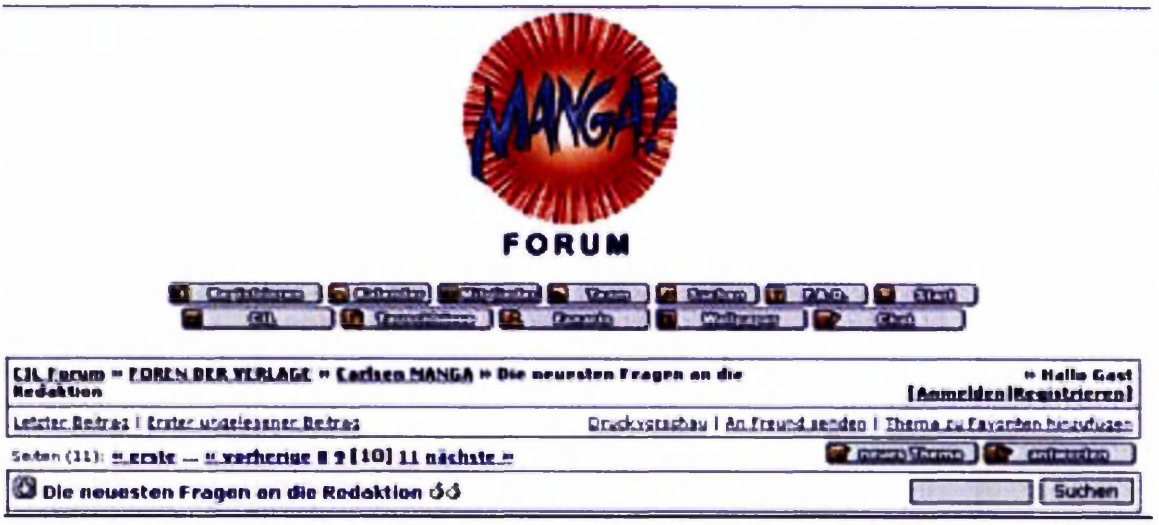
The web also creates the possibility for publishers to insist on a link to their main page being embedded in the review or news item, thus increasing their network and the number of ways people will be directed to their Public Relations and marketing presence on the web. Furthermore, the faster turnover of material and the fact that the space is not restricted in the same way as it is in magazines or papers makes it possible for publishers to disseminate important news far more quickly than traditional channels would allow (David, interview, 12 February 2007). This was exemplified by the number of interviews Joachim Kaps gave in 2004 when he announced the establishment of the Tokyopop Germany office (Waclawiczek/AnimePro, online, 19 December 2004; Pfeiffer/Comicgate, online, 2004). Here, the publishers display the brand in semi structured ways; on the one hand, they are part of the fandom, on the other, they are the official voice of the company. These fan-produced pages also often tie into the presence of the publisher in the other aspect of fandom on the web, the ever-expanding social network.

5.4.2 Web 2.0 – The Social Side of the Internet

As Weber points out, "the idea of branding in the social web is the dialogue you have with your customer. The stronger the dialogue, the stronger your brand" (2007:15). The forums of the publishers are perceived by fans as part of the public sphere (ibid.:14), which sets these networks apart from web pages and blogs, which are a form of "public privacy" (Weber and Mitchell 2008:28). In order to utilise both options, companies must not only provide informative and compelling webpage content, such as specials on series, reports about conventions or a page introducing the members of the organisation both those who are in and those who are out of the public eye, they must also actively participate in online forums (Weber 2007:13f). In return for this participation, the publishers receive plenty of information about the habits and

tastes of their customers (ibid.:19). Yet what both Weber (2007:20) and Ahonen and Moore (2005:43) point out is that what makes the utilisation of the social web so effective is that it employs the notion of "pull" rather than the classical interruptive "push" approach to communication. In other words, the consumer takes what he needs when he wants to, rather than perceiving the publisher as disrupting him. At the same time, when he does use these services, he expects them to be interactive (ibid.:100).

Manga fans are extremely internet literate and use the net not just for information searches, but also as a social space. They expect the publishers to keep up with this development and supply an innovative, interactive and informative web presence.
It is not unusual for the hardcore fans not only to know the people working for Carlsen Comics by name, but also to be aware of when, for example, members of the publisher are visiting Japan (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002), as exemplified by this exchange posted on the Carlen Manga Forum over several days in July 2003.



5.8 Header of the Carlsen Comics Forum at: CIL

Lightsaber: When can we expect a more precise answer regarding Yû Yû Hakusho?!? Still during the second half of 2003?!?

Jo Kaps: Yes, this could be the case, however maybe not until next year. The situation is a bit complicated.

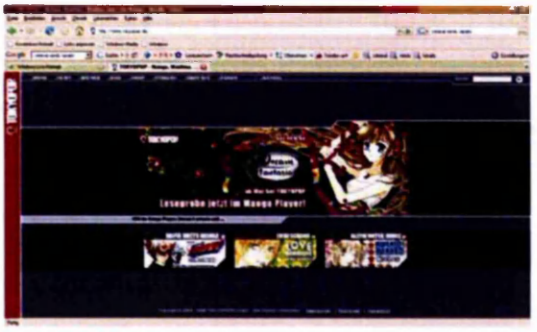
Lightsaber: Are you by any chance taking care of it when you're in Tokyo next month, Jo? And why is the situation so complicated??? After all it is not linked to a game, or belongs to different licence holders. Don't the rights belong to Shueisha in the normal fashion?!?

Jo Kaps: Yu Yu Hakusho. This will surely be a topic in Tokyo; however it is not at the top of our list of things we need to clarify.
(Translated by the author, original posts in the Carlsen Comics Verlag GmbH - Manga Forum, posted on the 21 July 2003 and 22. July 2003, www.comics-in-leipzig.de/Forum/board.php?boardid=13, questions for the publisher threat) (logged February 2004)

This need for closeness and contact is something that, at least in Germany, sets manga and classic comic fans apart (Schäfer, interview, 20 March 2003; Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002; Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003). Publishers started to realise this as early as 2000, and by 2002, this need had been transformed into part of the brand strategy via community-focused PR and marketing. The need of fans to be close to the object of their attention, however, is not new and has been pointed out by scholars such as Kelly (2004:9). The important issue is to understand why this matters.

This need for contact, however, also means that once the publisher has established regular patterns of contact, fans can protest if the contact ceases or becomes irregular, unless they are informed why this is the case (for example, holiday, illness, deadlines). In such cases, it is not unusual for them to post entries wishing luck or a quick recovery for the person involved (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). As can be seen in this case, they treat the moderators much in the same way as they treat their regular online friends. This kind of communication between the company and the fans is seen as crucial from the fans' point of view and is a reality that companies need to feel comfortable dealing with to a certain extent. A breakdown of communication often leads to assumptions being made along the lines that the "company has become arrogant and forgot who *made* them" (anonymous source 2003). It can lead to anger, which is then vented through boycotts, spamming internet forums or even hacking into web pages. Accusations by fans that publishers purposely delete critical comments from their boards (Arnold, online, 2000) is also a commonly-maintained myth within fandom, inflaming the situation further, and leading to spam attacks on company forums. Events such as these prompted Planet Manga

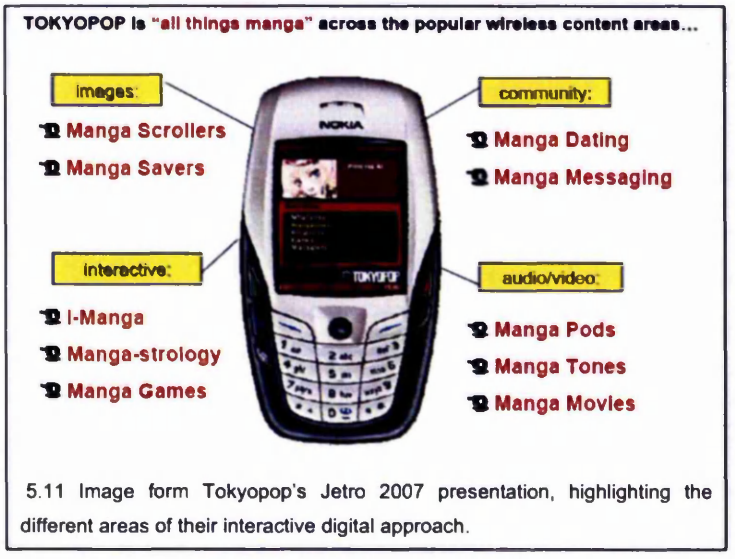
and Carlsen Comics to move their forums to different servers and Tokyopop USA to shut down its forum completely for some time.



5.9 German Fornt portal of Tokyopop in January 2009

5.10 The front portal of the American page in summer 2008.

Tokyopop USA utilised this need for closeness by transforming their company web page from a typical publisher's information page into a page that resembles social network pages such as *My Space* and *Beebo*. This emphasised their image as being part of the subculture rather than just selling to it or informing it; in other words, their page represents a brand experience (Vaid 2003:82) foregrounding interactivity. A Jetro presentation by the publisher in Japan aimed at Japanese media companies stated that their website gets over nine million hits a month and has millions of registered users (Tokyopop 2007:18) This development is in clear contrast to the closing down of their original forum after the Anti-Mixx campaign (Arnold, online, 2000) mentioned in the Introduction. The return to online forums was a gradual one. First, I observed that some of the editors started posting on popular pre-existing boards, such as *Anime News Network* and *Anime on DVD* in 2003, and a year later, Tokyopop re-instated their own boards. By now, their social



5.11 Image form Tokyopop's Jetro 2007 presentation, highlighting the different areas of their interactive digital approach.

web presence goes much further than that. Tokyopop not only has its own My Space page (www.myspace.com/tokyopop), but also a You Tube account (www.youtube.com/tokyopoptv), not to mention a multitude of other mobile content.

5.4.3 Trade Fairs and Conventions – Part 1 Content

During conventions, the role of the PR Department is focused on presenting the content, while marketing takes care of the trappings (Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002). Thus the PR Department arranges for guests to appear and takes care of them, organising interviews and panels. This also means constantly switching communicative gears between different types of speech while essentially staying true to the brand image the company is trying to project to the outside world and the message they are trying to communicate. Conventions are, therefore, planned well in advance. The Frankfurt Book Fair in October 2002, for example, was already being prepared in July 2002 during my internship at Carlsen Comics and the American summer convention season ranging from June to August 2003 was already being planned in March of that year. Such early planning allowed all the other departments to produce the marketing content that would be needed in line with joint goals and to familiarize themselves with the message they were about to present. This is necessary since, when it is time for the convention or trade fair, all employees who man the booths become brand ambassadors for their employer. Making sure that this representation is in line with the brand image the company wishes to convey at that event is of vital importance: "Employees simply have to recognize that their role is to serve ... and delight ... true brand differentiation comes when they do this collectively in a manner that is unique to their organization" (Buckingham 2008:125). It is what makes the publisher memorable to the fans and the rest of their interactive consumers.

So how does a convention work for the PR staff? For publishing employees, conventions usually start in earnest the week before the opening when materials are shipped out. The day before the convention, personnel arrive at the site making sure that all the materials needed, from booth trappings and sales materials to marketing goods are accounted for. If not, they start tracking them in hope of them arriving in time for the opening the following day. The PR blitz for the conventions begins before the conventions and trade fairs start. Both require different kinds of material to be

prepared and sent out, since one is aiming at business partners and the other at consumers (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003).

Most of the time, PR personnel arrive after the booth has already been set up by either the convention or the publisher's sales and marketing staff. They often chaperone Japanese, Korean and local artists, whose titles are under the publisher's licence, whom they have picked up beforehand, a task that can begin days before the actual convention if other appearances have been scheduled or the foreign guests have made requests to see nearby sights. In other words, PR staff deal with and co-ordinate official appearances and interviews as well as playing host and acting as tour guides. Thus, they are never off duty until the guests they look after retire for the night; this translates into working days that are far longer than the actual conventions days. Most fan conventions run for two or two and a half days, while trade fairs can last up to a week. The fan conventions publishers attend mix events and areas between professional, mixed and purely fan-run. PR staff, due to their chaperone function, float between the professional and mixed events, such as their company's panel presentations and the conventions stage events, such as opening/closing or award shows. This means that they are usually not bound to the booth as they spend a huge amount of time moving between sub-events.

The attendance of the publishers also differs. Carlsen Comics has always attended the two big book fairs in Germany – Frankfurt (autumn) and Leipzig (spring). This is where their main focus has always resided especially considering their huge involvement in Leipzig with the *Manga-Talente* competition, which will be discussed further in Chapter Six. In contrast, their attendance at fan conventions has varied drastically over the years. While they originally had attended AnimagiC, they decided to pull out of it in 2001. The other big convention, Connichi, was co-organised by their competitor EMA until 2005 and thus they stayed away.

In 2005, Carlsen Comics decided to send a first small group of editors and sales personnel to the two conventions to assess them and the following year they had a small booth at Connichi. On the whole, they have found the trade fairs of more use to them and have re-concentrated their efforts there. Originally, this behaviour was equated with arrogance on their part. Various fans told me that they assumed that, due to its success, the publisher had become 'too proud' to attend the fan

conventions. Due to the huge PR success of the *Manga-Talente* competition in Leipzig though, such talk has abated.

Tokyopop, on the other hand, not only attends book fairs (New York, Miami, London, Frankfurt, Leipzig), as well as toy fairs (New York) and licensing events (Cannes), but also attends a huge number of professionally organised fan conventions, such as ComicCon (New York & San Diego), Otakon, Anime Expo, London Expo, AnimagiC, and Connichi, to just list a few. They always used these events to announce new licences or introduce new product types or features.

5.5 Consistent Connections

As has become clear in the last two chapters, the breakdown of the initial production workflow has developed into an almost internationalised standard of tasks being divided between permanent employees, contractors and freelancers. The continuing compartmentalising of the workflow has both its strengths and weaknesses. Due to the increasing number of people, it has become possible to work on more books simultaneously since everybody has a clearly defined job to do. However, it also makes it more difficult to keep the same people working on a book for a longer period of time. The frequency of turnover by freelancers has actually increased, due to increased workloads and clearer guidelines. Due to the situation in the labour market and the existing number of people looking for media-related work, the conditions have become tougher. During my time at Carlsen Comics, over a hundred people applied for an editorial position, and I observed that Tokyopop's online advertisement for translators attracted similar numbers. At the same time, quite a few people leave their freelance jobs once they have found a permanent position elsewhere, indicating that for many, freelancing is an interim solution. Others indicated to me that, for them, freelancing was a lifestyle decision, which left them more flexibility in choosing what to work on. Others are fired for not performing to the standards set by the organisation. Although people working on projects change, the characters' 'voices' and the publication's feel within any given title need to stay consistent. Changes in the tone of a book, once established, can result in the loss of the core audience on which the title was able to build (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003).

Workflows, almost independently due to this structural make-up and technological developments, have all speeded up in one direction, one that emphasises a breakdown of the tasks involved. This move has been motivated by the increase in the product being produced – manga, for lack of a better term, has become, for the most part, a standardised packaged retail good as far as formats and prices are concerned. This tendency is not as surprising as it might seem, since my research shows that the manga industry has a great consistency in parts of the work force. Translators and re-writers often work for more than one company at the same time, something that they are free to do given their freelance status, and they carry the experience gained at one business over to the next. Freelance graphic designers, especially those focusing on lettering, will take jobs from different companies as well, facilitating further exchange. Editors expressed very different reasons for moving to work for former competitors who might offer a better salary, a promotion, an overall different business strategy, or just a change of scenery, which also influences the transfer of knowledge. I am aware of several specific examples of such transfers that occurred within the business before 2005. Three of Carlsen Comics' editors had worked for two of the other German manga publishers (EMA and Dino) before joining the company (Blaumann, interview, 30 August 2002; Schweitzer, interview, 30 August 2002; Grönewald, interview, 29 August 2002). One of them moved on to working for Tokyopop – Germany, a company primarily run by former Carlsen Comics employees (Kaps, interview, 23 September 2004). Carlsen Comics' former editor-in-chief transferred to a smaller German comic publisher, which since then has started to publish a small amount of manga (Reprodukt) (The Web Matrix, online, 2004). The American industry shows similar developments. Viz seems to be the biggest supplier, most probably due to its long history in the field. Former Viz editors are working for ComicsOne, Dark Horse and Del Rey (Sanders, interview, 23 July 2004; Middaugh, interview, 23 July 2004; Horn, interview, 25 January 2005). Cmx – DC's new manga label employed, for a while, the former Raijin editor (Tarbox, interview, 24 July 2004), while Marvel employed a CPM editor to develop their *mangaesque* line (Forbes, interview, 23 July 2004). Marvel's strategy of opting to employ selected Japanese artists to draw special editions of American characters for them, such as *Batman* (Asamiya 2000) or *Wolverine* (Kojima 1998) has been emulated by Tokyopop. Tokyopop, next to their *mangaesque* American and German titles, has also co-produced American-Japanese (*Princess Ai*, Kujirando and DJ Milky

2004) and an American-Korean (*Warcraft,* Knaak and Kim 2005) series. Yet it is not only the people who change companies who take ideas with them. There is also an international "loosely developed net" (Parker, interview, 18 February 2003) between comic book publishers due to trade fairs and conventions. Since publishers publishing in another language are not seen as direct competitors, exchanging ideas and techniques is not seen as threatening to one's own market position (Levy, interview, 07 February 2003); this becomes even clearer in the following chapter when marketing strategies are discussed.

Chapter 6
Selling an Image to Sell the Product

Thus far, this thesis has followed manga through the processes of physical transformation and reproduction, but does the localisation process end the moment the book is printed? Kopytoff argues that all commodities are not only manufactured as a physical entity, but at the same time they are culturally marked as a specific kind of item (1992:64). Western manga publishers are marketing their product as a 'branded' medium bearing their company's logo and signifying their philosophy. As previously noted in Chapter Two, brands were originally developed as a means of setting items apart from other products that had identical functions (Arvidsson 2006b:74). In other words, they mark a product as being produced by a specific organisational culture, with the company standing behind this brand. This move allowed them to sell a standardised format, which heightened tradability (Bakker 2008:390), and at the same time allowed them to be perceived as unique (ibid.:202). Over time, as the number of brands within the market increased, entertainment companies started to showcase their company's specific cultural identity even more than their product (Schrøder 1997:276). This framing of the company, while articulated by the PR Department, happens through marketing and sales tools. The Marketing Department is responsible for selling the intangible image and the Sales Department is responsible for placing the actual product into the sales venues that correspond with the image the publisher is trying to convey. After all, people unconsciously evaluate things differently, in terms of quality, type and intended audience, depending on where they are sold. A comic shop invokes a different image than a book shop or a multimedia outlet.

As the last few chapters have shown, there is regular communication between the different departments within the publishing companies. These, again, are in constant contact with a flock of external freelancers, who are employed on a regular to semi-regular basis, and contractors such as printing plants. However, while all of these aspects are important, none of them reach the scope or the interconnectedness that define the Marketing and Sales Departments' networks. Unlike the other departments, they base most of their work on both formal and informal networks. This

chapter will highlight the factors that are linked to marketing and sales structures, which, due to these specific networks, are highly local. In reaching the optimal market-based structures, both departments have to display creativity in terms of constructing a 'sales' pitch that convinces a broad group of people, from media retailer buyers to consumers and the public at large in their license territory.

6.1 Marketing

While PR articulates the brand, it is marketing that builds a brand in the mind of consumers and partners alike (Ries and Ries 2000:2), selling it through visual and corporeal tools. In the same way that marketing is communicative in relation to the outside world, it is collaborative inside the company. While the Marketing Department is in charge of setting up the marketing plan and translating this plan into reality, a lot of their ideas are either informed or influenced by the input of the Editorial, PR and Sales Departments. These departments supply the Marketing Department with background information for every title in terms of content, street-date, age and gender focus, its intended audience, estimated sales figure and the sales venues used. Furthermore, at times employees of other departments are literally used by the Marketing Department as primary brand ambassadors.

So how does a publisher construct his marketing plan? My research showed that there are three intervals that are of importance with regards to marketing spending. A publisher usually sets up a preliminary marketing budget for the whole year; this budget can be amended, based on revenue. The active planning period, due to the fact that most marketing activities are preceded by the booking of space (ads, conventions or trade fairs) and the production of material, usually runs on a three month cycle: brainstorming and planning, followed by production and finally execution and dissemination. The third interval, so-called after-marketing, consists of reviewing how the campaign did, gathering feedback and related services. The Marketing Department always handles projects in all three stages simultaneously. All three steps of the actual execution process and the after-marketing are discussed in the marketing meeting. The last two steps, with the exception of fairs and conventions, are usually monitored by individual members. The planning period, on the other hand, is discussed within the department and in conjunction with others, as

the data supplied by the other departments plays a vital role in the shaping of each title's marketing strategy.

During a typical marketing meeting, when a new title is discussed, the strategy decided upon rests in no small part on the above mentioned data. For example, a magazine has a higher percentage of first time and casual readers than a *tankôbon* thus requires a marketing strategy that reaches into mainstream media since too specifically targeted marketing would go unnoticed (Blaumann, questionnaire, August 2002:4). In other words, the first thing that is determined is who the title will be marketed to. Afterwards, the team moves on to determine where and how the marketing will take place. As discussed in Chapter Two, the primary focus of marketing has shifted over the last few decades, moving from a clear product-focused marketing strategy in the 1950s to a network-orientated approach in the first decade of the twenty-first century (Bruhn 2003:2). This is not to say that the product itself is no longer marketed, but that information and its communication has increased in importance over simple product features. This move, from a clear focus on the transaction to a focus on the consumer relations, aims at a longer engagement of the consumer with the product, and thus the company that supplies it (ibid.:12). This new aim means that a huge part of modern marketing is focused on supplying customers with information, freebees and a feeling of belonging to a community or tribe (c.f. Cova *et al.* 2007), yet for the time being, classical advertisements still continue to be seen as a vital part of advertising. A high volume, mainstream-focused title will be placed in the spotlight as much as finances allow, while niche and fan titles experience a more focused, cost-effective approach. A good example of this would be the television ads Carlsen Comics placed for *Banzai!* in the commercial breaks of *Dragon Ball* (Toriyama 1999[1986]) on RTL2 (Carlsen Comics, *Banzai!* Mediendaten 2001:2). As already seen in the last chapter's PR section, there are different kinds of publications with which the company is regularly in contact, but marketing sometimes supplements these titles with advertisements or co-operations in other publications if the genre of the title calls for it. To give an opposite example, using an anime, ADV Films placed its fighter plane-focused anime *Area 88* (Imagake 2007[2004]) in one of Britain's most popular air plane publications (Aircraft Illustrated 02/2007).

6.1 Point-of-Sale Marketing material for *Captain Tsubasa* during the World Cup in Japan

If special events, such as the football World Cup (Japan 2002) are coming up, a publisher might decide to take advantage of this event through targeted sales-point marketing, as Carlsen Comics did for the soccer manga *Captain Tsubasa* (Takahashi 2002[1981])(*Carlsen Manga Vorschau 4/2002 – 9/2002*:9). Once the team has decided on the type of marketing, they book ad space, booth space and/or freelancers and place orders for customised items, as will be discussed later in this chapter. One person is assigned to monitor the progress, much as an editor is assigned a title. The after-marketing discussions are based on the feedback they received from media partners and fans, as well as the conveyed data from the Sales Department concerning sales figures and retailer feedback. This discussion, in a circular fashion, will then inform future marketing.

6.1.1 Marketing Materials

As Ragas and Bueno point out, if they did not advertise themselves brands would die (2002:xiii). It is the job of the Marketing Department to make sure this does not happen, by finding creative ways of ensuring the brands' visibility. I was able to observe members of the marketing teams employ a wide array of different materials to achieve that end: from advertisements through to sales catalogues, product catalogues, and consumer leaflets or booklets, posters, bags and other giveaways. Nowadays, manga marketing also involves special display cases and decorative items such as posters and promotional handouts for different point-of-sale marketing. All of this is co-ordinated by the Marketing Department, which is not to say that they are all produced in-house; many tasks are physically completed by contractors. Furthermore, many of these jobs are shaped in conjunction with Production, Editorial or Sales, making Marketing a department dependent on the workforce of the other

departments to complete its mission (Ries and Ries 2000:1). Their content, while covering the same products, differs depending on the recipient, yet they all have to form one coherent brand image in order to communicate consistency (Aaker 1996:218). The majority of manga marketing is what is often referred to as 'just in time marketing' (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003), in other words it appears right before the product hits the street or a buyer's deadline rolls around. The timing is thus crucial and, if last minute changes occur, as they did during my fieldwork at Tokyopop with regards to the newly introduced product catalogue, they put a strain on the other departments as well, since they need to change their workflow to accommodate the changes. This example will, together with all the other sales focused marketing materials, be discussed in the Sales section of this chapter.

This section will take a closer look at the consumer-aimed materials being produced, since by 2004 they had become almost universally used by American and German publishers in the articulation of their respective brand images. Furthermore, these seasonal manga samplers have been accepted as a well-liked marketing tool by fans and consumers in both territories. Additionally, through them marketing has shown that there are new marketing formats which are so successful that other publishers, across borders no less, pick them up and utilise them. The success story of this marketing tool began in 2001, when the German manga publisher EMA handed out their first promotional book, called *Shinkan*, at trade fairs, conventions and through retailers (Solf and Smittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003).

The creative principle behind these promotional samplers, or '*sneak peeks*', is actually rather simple: they include the first few pages of upcoming manga titles that the publisher will publish over the next three to six months, editorial introductions and a backlist of all existing publications with ISBN and prices. This way, the publishers enable their consumers to inform themselves, not only through a story blurb on the back of the *tankôbon* about the

7.2 German and American promotional manga sampler

available storylines, but also to gain an understanding of the book's visual style. It is often also used to supply the titles with a genre tag. Some publishers such as Tokyopop Germany, for example, also included an image of the publisher's staff within the book, supplying the readers with the faces behind the manga. Others, like Carlsen Comics, place rendered versions of themselves on their webpage.

EDITORIAL

Konnichi-wa!

Seit Oktober 2005 feiern wir den fünften Geburtstag von EMA.
Natürlich floss der Sekt in Strömen und wir beglückwünschten uns gegenseitig zu diesem erfolgreichen Halbdekade.
Aber was wären wir ohne unsere Leser?!
Deshalb haben wir natürlich auch im Sommer wieder einige Knaller vorbereitet.
Im März gibt es endlich die heiß ersehnten Prämien aus der treuepunkte-Aktion.
Zeitgleich wird es Hippe Taschen mit verschiedenen Manga-Motiven von EMA geben.
Und im Mai schicken wir unsere deutschen Mangaka auf die große EMA-Roadshow. Wir packen das DuO, Gina Wetzel, Lenka Buchova, Alexandra Völker und Ying Zhou Cheng in einen bunten EMA-Mangabus und schicken sie eine Woche lang durch Deutschlands größte Städte (Köln, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig, München, Frankfurt), wo ihre Fans sie befragen, anlabern, bewundern, bestaunen und natürlich ihre Manga signieren lassen können.
Daneben gibt es natürlich wieder ein starkes Programm mit Serien, die von vielen Lesern schon lange gewünscht wurden: Loveless, Gleich ist Nanu Alien oder Chaldash - Master Samurai Short Stories. Auch im Bereich Shonen-Ai werden wir einige interessante Titel nachliefern: Yugen, Kiss oder Kiss me Princess.
Und für viele Fans wird das NANA-Artbook ein ganz besonderes Schmankerl werden.
Ansonsten setzen wir natürlich alle anderen Serien fort und haben auch noch den einen oder anderen Leckerbissen in der Hinterhand.
Aber das lässt sich am besten alles selbst im vorliegenden SHINKAN nachlesen, denn wir noch fünf Jahren ein neues Outfit verpasst haben. Hoffentlich gefällt es euch genauso gut wie uns!

In diesem Sinne
Georg F.W. Tempel

Der Manga-Händler meines Vertrauens

6.3 EMA Team introduces itself in *Shinkan* Editorial 2006

6.4 Tokyopop Germany Crew in front of their office *Manga Sneak* 2004

6.5 Carlsen Comics introduces *Banzai!* Team in the *Banzai!* Mediendaten 2001

Since these samplers run way in advance of some of the titles, they require careful pre-planning and co-ordination in terms of production. The Editorial Department has to ensure that not only at least one part of the volume one translation arrives in time, but that the graphic material is also cleaned and lettered by the time the sampler needs to go to print. For titles starting late in the following quarter, this is up to two months earlier than normally called for, as my observations with regards to the *Daisuki* sampler showed. The need for actual manga pages within these samplers means that the Marketing Department cooperates with both the Editorial and the Production Department, in procuring the material and arranging for a printing slot at one of their regular printers. The same is, as discussed later, true for the sales catalogues required by the Sales Department.

The fans were so thrilled by the free books in 2001 that it did not take long for other publishers to notice and follow suit. Here, a loose international network of communication and creative volleyball between manga publishers becomes visible. Tokyopop (US) picked up German samplers during their visit to the Frankfurt book fair and refashioned the format to fit the American market (Parker, interview, 18 February 2003). EMA had originally been inspired by slimmer, less regular previews, produced by American comic publishers such as DC Comics or Marvel for events such as ComicCon International (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003). Another circle closed. By the time I travelled to ComicCon 2003 to start interviewing the other American manga publishers, Viz had picked up the idea from Tokyopop. A year later at ComicCon International 2004, I could observe almost all American manga publishers handing out previews to the visitors. In addition to being more economically sensible in terms of production value than classical ads, these samplers also have the added bonus that they are kept by the majority of readers for future reference and they supply new readers with more information than a classical advertisement ever could. The international success of this marketing device proves Weber's point that the consumers like to take control (2007:20). They pull the information towards themselves, but if they are not interested they can simply ignore the publication being issued at conventions and in stores. To transform the consumer's wish to gain control over whether he receives marketing materials into an advantage for the publisher demands that they need to produce something that is seen as creating extra value for the customer (ibid.:13). With the 'new' form of

marketing having become the standard, some publishers felt the need to innovate their materials again in order to stand out from the crowd, to be distinctive from the rest (Knapp 2000:4). To that end, Tokyopop announced in March 2005 that it would expand their sneak previews and turn them into a direct customer mail-out, focusing on casual consumers and fans who sign up on their webpage.

6.7 Takuhai Advertisment in an Anime Magazine 2005

This new magazine format - *takuhai* – included, along with the preview pages and story blurbs, featured editorials, behind the scenes information, art development and letter columns (ICv2, online, 11 March 2005). To that end, creative content needs to be produced by editors, graphic artists, local pseudo manga-ka and many more, increasing the need for the Marketing Department to be networked with other creative units in their pursuit of the construction of the brand image. It is argued that this pays tribute to the fact that today's consumers do not simply want to be informed, they want to be entertained (Ahonen and Moore 2005:119). Viz refurbished its *Animerica* magazine around the same time, transforming the former *shôjo* magazine into an information magazine to be handed out to fans at conventions (ICv2, online, 17 February 2005). In addition to being perceived as a free magazine by the customers, these magazines allow the publishers to articulate their brand due to their editorial content, something the manga samplers were only capable of in a very limited fashion. These new magazines show a clear shift from focusing on the actual medium of manga to the articulation of the brand around the manga. Such lifestyle magazines, corresponding to the increased interactivity of publishers online, clearly show a movement towards constant engagement with the consumer group, allowing publishers to build the hype way in advance and gain feedback after the fact. For the fans, these magazines and being a member of a social web of fans, like the one formed by Tokyopop online, gives them the feeling of being part of an in-group that only they have access to. It is

designed to increase brand loyalty via moving creativity and lifestyle into the centre of the brands' articulation, just as the competitions set up by the publishers are.

6.1.2 Competitions: Marketing Tool and Content Provider

The same principles of interaction and participation hold true for the *mangaesque* talent competitions both Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop initiated in *Manga Talente* (2001- ongoing) and *Rising Stars of Manga* (2003 - ongoing). Yet, unlike the manga samplers, these competitions are far more shaped by the local culture in which they take place. While there has always been an interest in imitating comic styles by children, the commercialisation in the area of manga imitation is new (Jüngst 2006:252). However, considering that about 60% of girls and around 25% boys in Germany take up pen and paper to draw their own manga strips (Sozioland, online, 15 June 2005), publishers' interest in harnessing this creative energy is understandable. Carlsen Comics estimates that they issue a hundred letters informing aspiring artists that they cannot publish them for every one that they accept (Pannor, online, 20 March 2007). What makes these competitions especially interesting for both publishers and audiences is that they can carry multiple meanings. It is postulated that they are not only a straightforward marketing event geared towards the fan network and the public at large, but also a creative forum of self-expression and content development from which the publishers can draw talent and esteem. It also allows them, by defining these works as manga proper, to introduce further polysemic readings of that category. The message they send fan producers is 'you can be recognised for your talent, and this gives you a way to become closer to the centre, by achieving the status of your icons: the Japanese manga-ka', or as Böckem phrased it "The artist... could be you" (quoted in Jüngst 2006:258). Becoming a famous *manga-ka* presents itself as a 'dream job' in a Western context, about which many children and teenagers fantasise (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003; Webb, online, 28 May 2006). The message they appear to be sending to the public is 'see, we are involved in helping young people develop viable professional skills, build a career doing what they love'. Kai-Steffen Schwarz points out that developing new talent, in both manga and comics, has always been a part of Carlsen Comics' core philosophy, since it is essential for future market development (Waclawiczek, online, 19 June 2005). On the other hand,

the new artists generate content that is completely under the publisher's control and can, in the case of success, be exploited in other categories such as film, apparel or merchandise (Tokyopop 2007:10). The third and most revealing aspect, though, is the fact that, utilising these competitions and published works, the publishers are attempting to redefine what manga and manga-ka are in order to fit their branding needs.

However, there is more to it than just a short-lived PR blitz and marketing spectacle. The winners of these and other competitions are then often published in their own right, giving the publishers a pool of eager young local artists they can send on the road to promote brands via their work. In other words, they can be utilised as highly visible brand ambassadors with whom the other young manga fans, often involved in fan production themselves, can identify and whom they can relate to. In some cases, these books even become a success, although overall numbers suggest that these are the exception to the rule (Cha and Reid, online, 17 October 2005; Reid, online, 26 January, 2006). Yet, as EMA's marketing team is first to admit, local *manga-ka* are of psychological importance (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003); an opinion Planet Manga's marketing representative Schäfer (interview, 20 March 2003) seconds. So, let's take a closer look at these local amalgams and simulacra (Jüngst 2006:248).[107]

Originally these competitions started out as straightforward talent competitions, not unlike the many idol shows that can be found on television. The original German concept was to open a forum where young, non-professional artists could showcase their talents and their reading of the medium in terms of its artistic expression (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). The first competition attracted around 1200 entries, the second rose to over 2200 (Pannor, online, 12 November 2003b). Carlsen Comics experienced rising numbers until 2007, when entries sank to 14000 (Jüngst 2006:252). The winning entries were then collected and published in a free book available at the corresponding Leipzig Bookfair where the winners were announced.

What shifts this phenomenon into a different creative and organisational gear is that some of the winning artists were offered contracts for developing *tankôbon*-length

[107] Jüngst defines amalgams as works that combine Western and Japanese elements (2006:248), a category that most mangaesque works fall into. Then there are the ones which are designed to look and feel Japanese, in other words a simulation of the real without ever having been really Japanese (ibid.).

stories to be published by the publishers. Financially it made sense to market these works as manga, since comics did not sell particularly well at the time (Jüngst 2006:251), leading Carlsen Comics to call their artists "German manga-ka". However, due to the identification young fans felt with the winners and the resulting intense relationship that was cultivated by fans through these local artists to the manga magazine *Daisuki* (literally meaning: like a lot)[108] which featured these works, the Marketing Department discovered that a close emotional link had been forged between readers and the publisher via the German artists (Jüngst 2006:251). Furthermore, it gave the publisher a huge amount of press, as the mainstream media ran portraits on the aspiring artists (ibid.:258ff). Therefore, continuing along those lines and expanding this approach of creating local figureheads, often not much older than the readers themselves, made sense in marketing terms. Not only has Carlsen Comics continued to conduct the competition on an annual basis, it has also featured related contests throughout the year within *Daisuki* itself. At all times they ensure that they use Japanese terminology when referring to both artists and their works, leading the press to adopt these labels as well.

Tokyopop, on the other hand, started out of the gate in 2003 with a broader commercial outlook. By 2007 they had signed around seventy different *mangaesque* projects (Cha and Reid, online, 2005) and disseminated their work not just in the classical *tankôbon* format, but also via newspaper and magazine strips (Memmott 2005:4D), mobile (Twitty, online, 9 June 2007) and online content (ICv2, online, 21 May 2009). Unlike Tokyopop, Carlsen Comics only hired a very limited number of artists to produce full series. In 2005, Carlsen Comics had three German *manga-ka* working for them, while two former ones had moved on to work for other publishers or had begun to employ non-manga styles. As Schwarz explains, they are more interested in fully developing and supporting a limited number of artists that showed great talent, than in broadening the number of young artists and then not being able to provide a nurturing environment for them. However, they are also opening chances for others through smaller projects in *Daisuki,* as previously mentioned (Waclawiczek, online, 19 June 2005). Testing new artists with such smaller projects, while more conservative, is also more feasible, as the development of these original storylines

[108] The first volume of *Daisuki* sold 37000 copies (Kaspar 2003:46) from a premier print run of 150000 (Pannor, online 2003a). In 2005, the magazine sold an average of 45000 of its 80000 standard print run (Daisuki Mediendaten 2005).

does pose a financial and creative risk, as the majority of these young talents are untested. Quite a few fans-turned-artists have already given up under the pressure of producing a series which has to be up to professional standards within the same time frame as is typical for German and American, rather than Japanese artists (Jüngst 2006:259). Tokyopop, like Carlsen Comics, employs their local talents at conventions as brand-representatives that are accessible to fans in the here and now (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005).

My own analysis of the background of the people taking part in the German *Manga Talente,* as opposed to the people taking part in the American *Rising Stars of Manga* competition, reveals distinct differences. Neither the background nor the age ranges bear any resemblance. The majority of artists taking part in the German competition are female, students and manga fans, something that Jüngst's data also corroborates (2006:251). The American competition, in which I helped sift through the entries of the first competition while at Tokyopop, mostly draws its winners from a pool of graphic design students and people who have been working on the fringes of the comic business for a while. Their average age is higher than in the German case. While in Germany female contestants seem to almost hold a monopoly on the winning positions, the picture is more varied in the USA. Part of the difference might already lie within the basic premise on which the competitions are based. The American one stresses real publication, ergo a book, which is sold the same way as all other books. The German ones, while also granting prizes for the winners, stress the notion of providing a forum to show one's creative and artistic talent. While the first volume of *Rising Stars of Manga*, the compilation containing the stories of the American winners, sold out its first print run (ICv2, online, 17 October 2003) this does not guarantee that the artists bringing out solo projects are going to repeat this experience for the company, as most of the artists are untested with regards to working under publication deadlines. Tokyopop's German division mixed the American and German approach with their publication *Manga Fieber*. The first volume included works by former participants of talent competitions, especially the Leipzig contest. For further volumes they have invited people to send in stories directly to the publisher.

6.1.3 Advertisements

While the talent competitions already show marked differences, advertisements further accentuated the divergences. This is partially based on both the different secondary media established within the market and retail structures, and partially based on what is perceived to be a proper advertising standard. There are different cultural standards as to what is perceived to be appropriate content (Ang 1991:123). Manga publishers have, over the last few years, bought ad space in different publications, radio shows, on web pages and television to actively promote their products. The choices that are made are highly diversified, changing due to the different age-group and genre focused upon. While these approaches aim at mainstreaming manga by employing the same marketing strategies that other media have used for years (Solf and Schmittlutz, interview, 27 August 2003), they also aim at diversifying the audiences reached. Thus, where an ad is placed has much to do with the potential audience the publishers are trying to reach. However, this practice also caters towards being perceived as a serious business by both the business community and the public at large, as no brand can survive without it since it loses its visibility (Ragas *et al.* 2000:xii). Yet, since advertising space is actually quite expensive, especially during teenage television programmes or in popular teenage magazines, ads are still financially very tightly calculated for major impact (Witt, interview, 30 August 2002). Teenagers, next to young adults, have, for several years, been seen as the most affluent segment of Western societies due to their overall rising income. For example, German children and teenagers aged six to nineteen (12.11 million)[109] had access to €19 billion of personal capital in 2005, around €600 million more than in 2004. While six to twelve year olds generated €2.2 billion in revenue for retailers and services, the majority of the €16.8 billion was accessible to the thirteen to nineteen year olds. In other words, the average German child has access to €1570 per year (dpa, online, 20 June 2005). American teenagers (defined as twelve to nineteen years of age) alone spent $155 billion (€ 167.9 billion) in 2000 (Batts, online, 2001). Experience, however, tells publishers that young children do not normally buy written materials by themselves; they receive it from parents and relatives (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002), as indicated by Ross (interview,

[109] The overall German population consisted of 82.50 million at the end of 2005, with those less than eighteen years old constituting 10%. In comparison 25.7% (76 million) of the US American population are less than eighteen years old.

December 2003) and Schwarz (interview, 30 August 2002). The first attempt to target this market specifically and directly in Germany was the magically-inclined *DoReMi* (Todo and Takanashi 2001[2000]) manga, whose anime series was being broadcast successfully at the time. It failed due to the fact that parents do not buy comics explicitly categorised as manga for their children within such a young age group (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002), as the public image categorises manga as being aimed at an older audience. No amount of marketing has changed that fact thus far. In contrast, the licensed products connected to Nippon Animation's *World Masterpiece Theatre* brand family,[110] including comics, picture books and merchandise, have had continually high sales for this particular age bracket. I observed this trend to be driven both by the parents' nostalgia, having viewed series themselves as children, and a complete ignorance of their Japanese origin. This ignorance is not based on the networks trying to hide the origin (the Japanese animation studio is listed in the credits), but on the fact that, since Western stories are portrayed, they automatically assume them to have been produced locally. Parents thus deem these products to be safe and completely removed from the sex-and-violence image often associated with manga and anime, and henceforth, to be appropriate for children. Here a clear dichotomy can be seen between a reality in which both shows are constructed for the same age-group and the perceived image, which is based on a medium external articulation that categorises manga as a genre rather than as media form.

Due to limitations like these, it makes sense to focus all active media buying on media aimed at a slightly older teenage and young adult target group. It is also important to keep in mind that advertisements in Germany tend to be more expensive than in the USA. However, due to the higher density of German per capita print media consumption, the relative per capita exposure tends to be higher (Datamonitor 2003:6). In Germany, manga publishers, being aware of this, have started exchanging advertising space. Over the years, I observed, for example, adverts for an EMA series, of the same genre, in a Carlsen Comics' publication and vice versa, or to broaden the example, a related ad for the anime series of the manga published

[110] The series produced and originally broadcasted in the 1970s and 1980s consisted of animated children's classic novels from various countries. Popular series produced by Nippon Animation included *Heidi (Arupusu no shôjo haiji)* (1977[1974]), *Biene Maya (Mitsubachi Maya no Boku)* (1976[1976]) or *Nils Holgerson (Nils no fushigi na tabi)* (1981[198]).

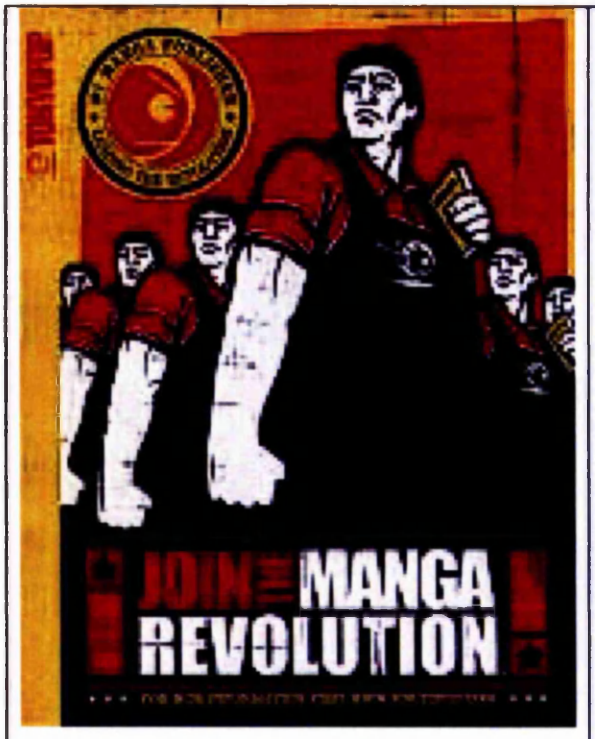
in Germany on DVD. In other words, this ad exchange does not simply work within the print media, but also includes co-operations with the cousin industry of anime.

While these exchange ads do not expand the base of possible new customers the way an ad in the most popular teen magazines would, they still create new genre-related cross-sales for similar titles and thus increase sales volumes (Jüttner and Wehrli 1994:56). On the whole, I saw that manga advertisements tended to focus on the titles on the opposite sides of the sales spectrum, either the big sellers and new titles by popular authors or the titles which are selling less than was expected and, therefore, are in need of a publicity boost. Unlike other media, which are slowly testing the waters of cross-market potentials, manga's late 1990s renaissance in the West started out on a diversified marketing platform using a broad mixture of media and has continued to broaden its approach by embracing early on the different opportunities the (social) web on the internet offers, as well as exploring the possibilities networks hold.

In terms of actualising advertising, Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop differed in their approaches. Carlsen Comics outsourced the actual design work for advertisements during the research period. Editorial temporarily supplied the copy and Marketing booked both the freelance graphic artists and bought the media space (Witt, interview, 30 August 2002). The fact that Editorial was involved was seen by all parties as temporary due to pressing time constraints on the marketing team. Marketing were focused on other projects such as the upcoming *Daisuki* launch and the organisation of the Frankfurt Book Fair etc. (ibid.). This again demonstrates just how close, at times, the cooperation between the departments can be in such a comparatively small production setting. Marketing, for a time, relied on the flexibility of the Editorial team in adapting their writing skills to the work on a brand instead of product-related purposes. At Tokyopop, the work was carried out in-house in co-operation between the graphic designers in Production and Marketing, whom in this case also supplied copy (Alnas, interview, 16 July 2003).

The types of advertisements produced by each publisher fell both within the "promotion-oriented" and "brand-led" categories (Kawashima 2006:397). The majority, though, was geared towards the promotion of new titles. I observed these

ads being used in magazines, on the web and on television. Carlsen Comics' brand-led campaigns mostly focused on point of sale materials such as banners, flags or display rags. The only time I observed a brand-related ad was the ad placed in the Börsenblatt (see image 5.7). Tokyopop's strategy was more mixed; even most of their promotion ads started to include their dominant brand-led messages: "Tokyopop is manga" and "Join the manga revolution". These can also be found online (www.tokyopop.com) or in presentations to such institutions as Jetro (www.jetro.org/documents/ctia2007/TOKYOPOP.pdf).



6.7 Join the Manga Revolution Poster

6.8 Tokyopop advertisement placed in Newtype USA

Here a clear difference, with regards to the publishers' marketing strategies, becomes apparent. The product becomes secondary to the brand-image in Tokyopop's strategy, while the product prevails at Carlsen Comics'. Tokyopop ads are primarily about Tokyopop (brand-led) and Carlsen Comics ads are primarily about manga (promotion-led). There are also clearly underlying cultural differences to be found. Tokyopop-Germany used the same slogan as Tokyopop US and did receive some criticism in its online forum for this 'heavy handed' and 'bad taste'

approach, showing that campaigns cannot easily be transplanted to different local markets around the globe.[111]

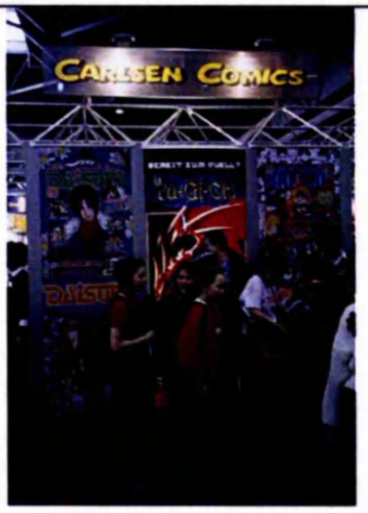
As I was able to observe, the kind of visibility sought and the language of the press releases and ads are, to a large extent, culturally determined. As many brand studies have shown, just as with the language chosen for the actual manga translation, when ads are geared towards localised consumer tastes they achieve their goals far better (Torres 2007:138). In the past, global players used one campaign worldwide. Yet in the last fifteen years, even they have moved towards including local touches in their campaigns that speak to a local audience (e.g. Moeran 2003; Myers 1999; Torres 2007). American and German tastes in this area vary tremendously. Both the visibility and language of the American ads are normally perceived as being too aggressive, as being too-much-in-your-face in a German context (see also: Moeran 2003:92). In the American context, the same ads are perceived as an appropriate way to gain a greater exposure. If a company does not make a lot of noise about their product, it is assumed that said product is not worth much (Kleckner, interview, 10 March 2003). Also, press releases often contain phrases like 'aggressive cross-media promotions' or 'aggressive strategy', when referring to the company's own marketing efforts (e.g. Viz, PR Release, 10 June 2002), a phrasing that is unlikely to be found in a German context. While in recent years, with the slow growth of the economy, aggressive advertisement slogans *have* started to appear in Germany, they have mostly been used by (media) retailers and not by the product producers themselves. At the end of 2005, after about three years, these campaigns began to disappear again, after the shock factor of the ads' initial impact had worn off (Seith, online, 17 May 2006). As Frank Mort noted "Aggressive selling shift(s) goods for a time... ultimately, however, such methods set up their own forms of resistance in the minds of the consumer, because to the European outlook, they lacked good taste" (1997:24). In the USA, the big book and media retailers also place manga ads, often in co-operation with publishers who offer them extra conditions for the period of the promotion. Since these co-operations are conducted by the Sales Department, they will be reflected upon later within this chapter in relation to promotional deals.

[111] See for example the discussion at:
www.comicsinleipzig.de/Forum/thread.php?threadid=13822&sid=b3913fb4a49615b235c07e3980bf9507

6.1.4 Conventions – Part 2 Execution

As this chapter has shown, the sole focus on conventions as the place where marketing is possible and, more importantly, feasible has gone. Still, the profit margins in book and magazine publishing are relatively slim when compared with other media "Only 10-15 per cent of revenues flow back to the publisher as royalties. Distributors can pull in 30-40 per cent operating margins" (Lex Column 2007:16). Due to this, the amount of money which can be set aside for marketing in various media needs to be considered carefully, especially if other, more cost effective, avenues of marketing exposure are available. While some instances of mainstream advertisements such as big print ads and TV spots can be found in both the USA and Germany,[112] companies generally opt for a mixed promotional structure using trade fairs, conventions and retail spaces to promote their products more efficiently following mixed media approach in terms of marketing channels (Grainge 2008:133ff). In other words, the publisher spreads its marketing between different media, direct-customer marketing and sales point promotions. Thus, conventions and trade fairs remain to date one of the most important parts of direct marketing, since they allow direct access to the consumers and fans (Alnas, interview, 16 July 2003; Schäfer, interview, 20 March 2003; Schrader, interview, 23 August 2002).

6.7 Getting started, Viz sets up its ComicCon booth in 2003



6.8 Carlsen Comics promoting *Daisuki* and *Banzai!* at Leipzig bookfair 2003

6.9 Tokyopop promoting *Rave Master* at ComicCon 2003

[112] Television spots were used by Carlsen in conjunction with their *Banzai!* Magazine, while EMA used the commercial breaks of related anime on RTL2 to place strategic ads. Tokyopop US also introduced television ads in 2004.

They are where the publisher meets business partners or consumers in person and thus allows for the formation of bonds which are seen as personal and emotional connections with the brand on offer due to the faces that are linked with the object in question (Baldauf 2003:53). Also as already mentioned, these events also grant the company press coverage that they do not need to pay for, since the press, from print, through to radio, television and web-based portals, will cover these events regardless. Thus, it is in the company's best interests that the marketing at these events functions seamlessly since they are under public scrutiny. To that end, the limited personnel of the Marketing Department is supplemented with what Grönroos terms "part-time marketers" (1994:8), employees from other departments. Otherwise, the large amount of direct promotion, marketing and brand representation employed at these events would not be possible to carry off. The publisher's self-representation starts with the type of booth the publisher chooses. Depending on publisher and event, these can be informal, make-shift, convention-standard or high-end custom-made. The custom-made booths are usually reserved for trade fairs or huge events such as ComicCon International or Anime Expo. After the booth is chosen, the main marketing goals are agreed upon; to use an example, the main goal of the Frankfurt Bookfair 2002 was to introduce *Daisuki* to the German public. Marketing, in co-operation with Editorial, prepared a special sampler to hand out to the visitors ahead of the magazine's start. Furthermore, it was ensured that *Daisuki* imagery was prominently displayed in and around the booth, as can be seen in image 7.8 displayed above.

Last but not least, the Marketing Department has to ensure that they have prepared the employees from other departments beforehand. This preparation involves making sure that they are informed about the properties promoted and that they are motivated, since they become the company's 'face' and 'voice'. Or, as Webster (online, 2002) points out, it is the employees that are, after a fashion, the living, breathing brand; they are supposed to be its biggest advocates. Part of this has already been seen with regards to the forums and the editorial content of the publishers' (free) magazines, but nowhere does it become more visible or, in the case of manga publishers, critical that the employees fulfil this capacity than at trade fairs and conventions. After all, as Buckingham highlights, employees do not "have the luxury of fantasy when they live and breathe the brand" (2008:92). They might be

stressed, tired or they might simply disagree about the focus the publisher is setting at the convention or fair, yet it becomes their responsibility not to show this in order to not undermine the credibility and clarity of the brand image being communicated (ibid.:95).

What becomes particularly clear is that there are also players situated outside the company who are often at least considered to be part of this decision-making process within the publisher, either through active or passive means by influencing shape and content. This leads to the last step in the localisation chain: local distribution and sales of the manga. How does the local environment shape the distribution systems and retail networks of the publishers?

6.2 Sales and Distribution

As the previous section has shown, there are a lot of different ways in which a publisher markets their brand in order to set it apart and make it more visible. However, making their product known to a local audience is only the first step. After all, to become a success, the publisher also has to bring the product to a place where the audience has access to it. This is the role of the Sales Department, as it is their job to place the localised manga in sales venues that are appropriate for their culture. Still, Distribution and Sales are often ignored within the circle of localisation, yet manoeuvring the product into the right spot in the market is very important in order to maintain visibility and, in the end, sales (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003; Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). Furthermore, if they manage to open up new Sales venues, for example, through the establishment of a new format that speaks to this retail outlet's needs, they can also extend the reach of the brand. Sales negotiate all the contracts and conditions with the retailers and distributors (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). It is they who try to achieve the maximum exposure for the product (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). If that retail space happens to bring in the majority of sales for the publisher afterwards, the new format might actually be adopted by other companies to become the new standard, as happened with the switch to the back-to-front *tankôbon* format in the case of manga. This shift mirrors the route Western Comics followed when the Graphic Novel became a new standardised format in the late 1980s. Both of these successful forms of rebranding

helped to distinguish those publishers who established them from the rest, giving them at least for a time a clear advantage in the market space. In the case of graphic novels, they separated them from titles which were seen to be aimed at children, teenagers and fans (Sabin 1996:168). In the case of manga, they set them clearly apart from Western comics, until the publishers started to blur the line of what constitutes manga, as discussed above.

The Sales Department also answer questions and present content-related back-up to possible and existing retailers, and it is their role to prove to the retailers that their brand offers a viable source of income for the retailer (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003; Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). Sales figures, audience demographics, articles and advertisements in the trade and industry press are just some of the forms of data used in structuring this part of the publisher's persona, most of which are linked to the publisher's marketing efforts and are employed by the Sales Department to argue their brands' worth. They also influence the future direction of the publisher through gathered insights into what sells where. They then feed this knowledge back into the production process, influencing the buying of new licenses, the direction of original content development, the trade press and even the format itself (ibid., ibid.). Additionally the Sales Department has considerable influence on the calculation of print-run sizes. Usually they use three different sets of data in order to calculate these: they have a basic estimate of any given book, which they can compare to past sales figures of similar titles and last, but not least, they have pre-order numbers through their distributors (ibid.). Print runs for one and the same title can be quite different from country to country; using data from foreign competitors does not necessarily supply secure answers. Panini, who publish manga in three different languages under three local labels, but have a centralised editorial department for all three in the same building, are keenly aware of this difference. "Sales figures in one country are no indicator for the others, for example things that sell like crazy in Italy usually have a difficult start in Germany or do not appeal at all" (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). Müller used the fantasy title *Berserk* as an example; according to her, the title sells very well in Germany, yet is less popular in France (ibid.). Panini's international editor-in-chief agreed; according to him, *Berserk* sells around 35,000 copies per volume in Germany, but only about 8,000 in Italy (Verdini, interview, 22 March 2003). Therefore, Panini calculates completely different sizes of print runs for

all three countries. Since first edition manga, unlike American pamphlet-sized comics, are not seen as a collector's item, even though they sometimes contain bonus material such as colour pages, bookmarks or postcards, the companies face less difficulty in calculating future print run numbers for upcoming volumes of the same title (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). This gives the publishers a greater security from over-production and following costs for storage. Yet, it is also important to produce enough to guarantee a steady supply, as one of Carlsen Comics' sales managers pointed out; if the books are not present in the outlets, sales are automatically lost (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). This means that, if retail outlets are lost due to bankruptcy, or if one type of outlet holds the stranglehold on the medium's dissemination, the publisher becomes vunerable. So what are the differences between the two territories in terms of distribution and retail and how does that influnce the work structure of the departments?

6.2.1 Distributors

Sales Departments of small and middle-sized publishers usually work with distribution companies, which are responsible for delivery to specific venues (Wyatt 2006:C1). The kind of distributor a publisher chooses is based on the retail segment that they are trying to supply. In Germany, for example, there are different distributors for the magazine outlets, such as newsagents and kiosks (also known as the '(direct) press market'), and the book market (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). The American market has, with Diamond, another line of distributors, which specialise in comics and genre multimedia stores. Yet, before taking a closer look at distribution proper, it is important to consider the work structure of the Sales Departments' organising distribution. Finding distributors as a start-up company is neither easy nor cheap, as Lent (presentation, 28 January 2004) pointed out with reference to a comic magazine he worked on years ago. Costs for independent small companies can be enormous, all the way up to 75% of the cover price. Manga producers are no longer faced with this particular dilemma, yet distribution still poses problems for small publishers and challenges for the big players. Percentile rates paid for distribution have, due to the sheer volume and revenue and the fierce competition within the market, declined, but are still (as mentioned above) between 40-50% for most printed material (Lex Column 2007:16). The smaller the print run and the smaller the amount

distributed, the higher the fees are per volume to have the book distributed, much as with printing costs. In contrast to the early era of manga publishing, the Sales Department also deals with a larger number of distributors, which specialise in different markets. The number of distributors employed has recently been economised again by a number of publishers. Differences can also be found between the German and the American market. While the German market seems to have distributors who deal with both comic shops and book markets at the same time, with the press market served separately, the US market seems to be even more fragmented.

Since the year 2000, manga have continually shifted from their former predominant sales channel, the specialised comic book retailers and pop culture shops, into the mainstream book market and the mass retail market. Diamond,[113] the distributor who handles the vast majority of orders in the comic store market, both in the US and overseas, has neither the logistics nor the know-how to operate in this new and differently structured market. Most publishers, since the rise of *tankôbon*, have had more mainstream book distributors taking care of these properties in this market segment (Kiley, interview, 13 July 2003). US publishers have now moved from smaller regional distributors to one or two market leaders, which cover the whole of the USA and Canada. Consolidating their distribution allows the publishers to serve their diverse markets more readily, without having to spend much time and energy on overseeing direct sales and multiple regional distributors, thereby allowing them to organise their logistics in an easier, more clearly laid out fashion. It also, as in the case of printers, normally means that they will receive better rates due to the bulk size of the merchandise which is moved. Eliminating most of the direct customers, as Viz did in 2002 (ICv2, online, 19 November 2002), and re-routing them through outsourced distributors also frees up time and manpower inside the publisher to redirect them to maintain good customer relations and establish new ones. Viz's consolidation enabled them to employ a single distributor for comic stores (Diamond), another for books (PGW),[114] one for periodicals (Ingram)[115] and one (Pioneer)[116] for

[113] "Diamond Comic Distributors, Inc. was established in 1982 to provide comic book specialty retailers with wholesale, non-returnable comic books and related merchandise." (www.diamondcomics.com/company.html)
[114] Publishers Group West was established in 1976 and caters to around 150 independent publishers. (www.innerocean.com/news.htm?a=33272)
[115] Ingram Book Group, founded in 1964, is a wholesale distributor of book products. (www.ingrambook.com/start/)

videos. In 2004, when their bookstore-aimed distribution had grown even further, Viz switched from the West Coast-based PGW to Simon & Schuster, Inc.,[117] a bigger national distributor (ICv2, online, 29 April 2004). Similarly, Tokyopop signed an exclusive contract with Diamond to handle their shipping for the comics market in the US and Canada (ICv2, online, 14 June 2004). Their mainstream distribution was held by CDS[118] from 2002 onward and stayed with Perseus for a while after they bought CDS. However, they switched to Harper Collins[119] in the summer of 2006. This move was necessary because, by 2006, Tokyopop output had grown eight to tenfold and they needed a company capable of handling the amount of books on the move (Wyatt 2006:C1). Unlike Viz, who stopped all distributors from selling their products abroad in 2002, due to license restrictions (ICv2, online, 19 November 2002), Tokyopop also possesses the licenses for the UK. However, instead of using Diamond UK, they are employing two direct sales representatives in order to place their books as they do in the US, in different retail environments such as HMV, Virgin Megastores or Ottakars (ICv2, online, 04 June 2004). Thus, this move not only allowed them greater freedom in exploring new possible sales venues, but also supplied them with well known faces to work direct marketing via sales personnel at conventions.

Opening up new retail territories can, however, also create problems for Sales Departments, if the old retailers feel that they are not only losing out on the growth, but are also losing customers; the brand diminishes in their esteem. American publishers faced such a problem when manga moved into the book market. Comic bookstore owners started to receive their copies later than bookstores, due to Diamond's usual delivery dates towards the end of the month, while the bigger distribution companies allowed for earlier delivery dates. This led to the specialised retailers complaining loudly that this movement cost them not only potential new customers, but also their established customers. Publishers have, therefore, asked Diamond to move their shipping schedules (ICv2, online, 14 June 2004), something

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[116] "Founded in 1938 in Tokyo, Pioneer Corporation (NYSE:PIO) employs more than 36,000 people in its worldwide consumer electronics business." (www.pioneerelectronics.com/pna/article/top/0,,2076_4309,00.html)
[117] Simon & Schuster was founded in 1924 as a publisher. In 1998 it became part of the Viacom Media Conglomerate (www.simonsays.com/content/feature.cfm?sid=33&feature_id=1625)
[118] CDS was the largest independent book distributor in the USA http://www.cdsbooks.com/aboutCDS.asp in 2005
[119] A company profile of Harper Collins can be found at http://www.harpercollins.com/templates.asp?page=companyprofile

that only became possible due to the overall numbers which are shipped. A few years ago the distributor would not have felt compelled to comply with these requests. The publishers have, repeatedly, stated that they would also like to keep the comic book stores in the business of selling manga (CMX, panel discussion, 25 July 2004; Dark Horse, panel discussion, 22 July 2004). Yet, it seems that the better organised logistics and distribution networks of the book market are winning out. The argument some publishers make is that they would like to see the comic store market in the USA focus more on back list sales than on the first rush on a new book, since, according to them, this is where the strength of comic shops lies (CMX, panel discussion, 25 July 2004). This has, however, not stopped the decline of manga purchases through specialised stores, with numbers for most titles continuing to dwindle. This fact became clearly visible in January 2009, when Diamond raised the minimum any given title had to guarantee in purchase orders to US$ 25000, before they were listed in the Sales Catalogue (ANN, online, 2009a), leading to a wide range of manga no longer being listed since their sales figures through comic shops do not reach that level (ibid. 2009b). In comparison to the highly centralised American bookstore chain structure, the German market has smaller and more independent book shops, and so companies such as Carlsen Comics tend to employ a variety of regional sales representatives. These representatives cater to its needs in the clearly defined regions of Germany, Austria and Switzerland and they have personal contact with buyers. In both cases, the publishers are reliant on these existing structures for the delivery of their books and there is no way around them if they want to guarantee their products to reach the retailers.

6.2.2 Retailers

The retailers who stock manga have changed both in composition and in market share over the years, as the Sales Departments have expanded the reach of manga. The American and German book markets have traditionally been rather reluctant to open up to pop cultural mass media such as comics. Basically, the old stereotypes held pitfalls that the Sales Department had to deal with when they moved the book into the new retail space (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003; Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002). In order for Sales Departments to open up this new market, a lot of information distribution was necessary since these new retailers, unlike comic book

shop owners, who for the most part are fans of the medium, did not possess any knowledge about this form of media (Schwarz, presentation, 9 October 2003). The recent diversification means that the Sales Departments need to be better prepared to cater to the diverse requirements of each different sub-buyer market, both in the form of the support they offer and the information which needs to be prepared beforehand. Carlsen Comics in Germany decided to run educational seminars for booksellers in order to familiarise them with the specifics of manga. These seminars dealt both with background information on manga, as well as information about the differences in sales structures between manga and regular comics (ibid.). Tokyopop, on the other hand, also started a scheme for libraries after various complaints were levelled at librarians' doors in terms of content and age range (Bell, online, 14 March 2005). With manga's move beyond the more traditional American comic book sales venues and the opening up of the bookstore market, as well as big (American) chains and media outlets (USA and UK), their preparation of order details needed to shift to an earlier time within the production cycle in order to accommodate the buying habits of these retailers (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005; Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). Although the shelf space in bookstores was still expanding in 2005 (ICv2, online, 08 December 2005), with the rise of manga as a category, the expectations of a quick success have risen, while the time given to a new title to establish itself before a property is seen as a failure has shortened (Kaps 2005:4), thus resembling network TV approaches to televised programmes. While the retail space expanded further in 2005 (ICv2, online, 08 December 2005), the retailers are becoming choosier as to which titles they stock, putting further pressure on the publishers to make sure their titles are compatible with the broadest possible audience, in order to sell them. Nevertheless, due to the fact that *tankôbon*, and graphic novels for that matter, all possess ISBNs it means that it is just as easy to order a back issue through a bookstore. The use of ISBNs, due to the standardised system employed by most countries around the world, allows easier access and traceability for books (Verdini, interview, 22 March 2003). This computer-readable bar code is unique within the market and needs to be registered in advance. Books have a fixed ISBN before they have completed the editorial process (Gürtler, interview, 03 July 2002). These ISBNs are also listed in the retail catalogues the Sales Departments employ. ISBNs are something relatively new for quite a number of comic book publishers. Pamphlet-sized comics, both in the USA and Germany, qualify as magazine material that is

distributed at a specific point in time and cannot be ordered through normal channels at any point after publication as long as the printed copies last and after that through intermediaries. This is one of the reasons why *tankôbon* formats are seen as superior, they can be backordered like books, while phamplets are usually only available through specialist stores who keep them in stock. As the sales of *tankôbon* grew, so did the pressure by readers to include ISBN on all of these books (Schäfer, interview, 20 March 2003). Panini, who started out their *tankôbon* without them, and distributed only through the magazine channels, are just one example of a company that these days includes the barcode on their books (ibid.). After all, this grants access to the book market and it shifts manga from the hard-to-find category into the ready-to-order category. This is just one of the reasons why the book market is so attractive to publishers and Sales Departments dispense a lot of energy in order to maintain and grow this retail opportunity. The percentage of returned books drops immensely, cutting costs for re-distribution and the amount of products damaged or lost in transit.

The structures of the German and US book markets, as already mentioned, are quite different. While Germany does posses 'bigger' book chains such as Thalia[120] and Mayersche,[121] small, relatively independent bookstores are still the norm (Datamonitor 2003:6f). Also, the mixed-media form of train station bookshops, which present themselves as a cross between the press market and book market, are a distinctly different sales outlet, with a long tradition of comic sales. The placement of manga in video and music-related outlets is not found on a large scale in Germany, neither is the placement of manga in mass retail environments, as has recently happened in the USA.[122] Unlike American book sellers, German book sellers have never insisted on a single format for manga. German manga sizes are, while standardised to a certain extent, far more variable between different publishers, in addition to within publishers themselves, showing the greater flexibility of independent stores over retail chains.

[120] Thalia started as a small book seller in Hamburg in 1919 and today consists of over 80 outlets in Germany. (www.thalia.p-ad.de/thalia.holding.php)
[121] Die Mayersche is a family held company that started of in Aachen in 1817, they now hold book department stores in nine NRW cities (www.mayersche.de)
[122] A fact which, at the end of 2005, resulted in new problems for manga publishers as SunCoast, and other parts of Musicland, went bankrupt, leaving publishers with huge returns and open bills.

The retail-channel shift in the USA started to become apparent in 2001, when sales figures for bookstores began to grow at a faster rate than the traditional outlets (ICv2, online, 10 March 2002). Dallas Middaugh, the Senior Marketing Manager for Viz at that time, stressed the importance of giving the new audience, which was generated through anime TV exposure, a realm in which they would feel comfortable to "buy this stuff (and) right now that's Barnes and Noble, Waldens, and Borders" (ibid.). However, in 2002 manga was still a new category for the general book trade in the United States. Steve Kleckner elaborates that it was, therefore, easier to get "a known license with an existing fan base" (ibid.) into the stores, especially on a schedule which back then did not yet mirror the book trade's normal operational modus. This leniency on the part of bookstores concerning their normal time frame during the first year might have had to do with backing the unflipped *tankôbon* format received from the head of Walden Books (Smith, online, 2005). With rising sales figures, the other big book chains naturally felt compelled to follow Walden's lead, thereby paving the ground for the success of the new format. With growth in this category and interest on the side of the publishers to present an ever growing variety of manga in the new outlets, they were forced to adapt to the retailers' timetables, with the already-mentioned effects on the company's internal workflow. Another shift which occurred was the already-mentioned pressure to standardise the manga format, with which most publishers complied, leaving Dark Horse as the only experimental American company in the field. Dark Horse's focus on more mature titles such as horror, gore, sci-fi and historical drama still speaks to a predominantly older audience frequenting comic book shops, thus explaining the continuation of higher sales figures through these traditional venues for most of their titles (Dark Horse, panel discussion, 22 July 2004). By 2003 the increasingly uniform format meant that the competition for shelf space was heating up in earnest. When all products are packaged the same way, publishers needed to find different ways to increase their appeal to the chain buyers. One way that became very popular in the USA was to offer retailers special deals or editions that could be used as part of the retailer's own marketing. Book chains such as B&N and Waldenbooks-Borders Group, were at the forefront of this trend. Granting exclusive manga editions to retailers can take various forms, the most basic one being a guarantee granting a bookstore chain exclusive sales rights for a specific amount of time for a title, as happened with Broccoli's fantasy adventure *Aquarian Age - Juvenile Orion*

(Gokurkuin 2003[2002]) (ICv2, online, 26 August 2004) or Viz's gender-bender drama *HanaKimi* (Hisaya 2004[1997]) (ICv2, online, 27 October 2004). *HanaKimi* had, from the beginning, been seen as a potential bestseller due to the buzz the title had created before being published in English and, therefore, presented itself as a prime candidate to generate enough sales to satisfy both publisher and retailer. *Aquarian Age*, on the other hand, was a title Broccoli had high hopes for, but due to their (at that point) recent entry into the manga market they were not sure if they could give the book the marketing boost necessary on their own. According to their marketing representative, the added marketing power of the bookstore chain allowed the book to surpass all expectations the publisher had. This left the publisher with a good impression of the possibilities such a deal can generate (Broccoli, panel discussion, 24 July 2004). Dark Horse and B&N, on the other hand, began a licensing agreement covering hard cover editions of the first volumes of Dark Horse's recent bestselling manga, the gunman sci-fi *Trigun* (Nightow 2003[1995]), *Akira* (Otomo 2004[1982]) and the vampire action story *Hellsing* (Hirano 2003[1997]). The cover price of these limited edition hard-covers is lower than Dark Horse's standard *tankôbon* cover prices (ICv2, online, 18 November 2004). Choosing titles aimed at adults makes sense for such a joint venture, which carries a resonance of the 1980s move towards graphic novels. In a market segment which originally aimed at exactly this mature audience, yet which was not able to raise the numbers in this demographic to the same extent as happened in others, this promotion can only be considered a classical reminder of the introduction of graphic novels. Producing box sets with extras is another favoured option, which both Tokyopop and Viz have used, in conjunction with Borders and Waldenbooks or Broccoli's co-operation with Anime Gamers. These extras range from anime DVDs (animexx, online, 14 March 2006), through special collectibles such as cards (ICv2, online, 27 October 2004), figurines (ICv2, online, 27 August 2003) or dust-jackets (ICv2, online, 16 October 2003a).[123] Choosing this last option is seen as an incentive for buyers to complete their sets of manga in a business where, in most cases, the sales figures of titles either stagnate or fall after volume three. Kaps (2005:4) recently argued that all true manga bestsellers did not develop their full potential until volumes eight or nine reached the shelves. Some older properties, which might have developed more slowly, did, if overall sales figures are considered, actually top many current titles, highlighting both

[123] Broccoli sold the books with dust-jackets through a sister company, anime gamers, and at conventions.

word of mouth propaganda and long term quality issues as important points to keep in mind.[124] These collaborations with big book chains always also mean more marketing might be available for a given title, which the publisher on their own would not be able to muster (Broccoli, panel discussion, 24 July 2004). Not surprisingly, comic book store owners have complained about this practice for a while, since it cuts into their already-falling sales figures in the manga segments, due to the migration of even long-time buyers to chain stores because of the already-mentioned distribution issues (Dark Horse, panel discussion, 22 July 2004). Tokyopop has partially tried to remedy this situation by selling their new, twelve-issue long, limited edition Clamp magazine through "the direct market comic book stores to fill initial orders only", though the remaining copies will go to the company's online store and Waldenbooks (ICv2, online, 06 July 2004). The sales helped, even if often unwillingly, to change booksellers' approach to manga.

In contrast to the USA, in Germany mixed print media outlet forms such as the bookshops at major train stations are a major traditional sales point for comics (Klötzer, interview, 27 August 2003; Schäfer, interview, 20 March 2003). These bookshops represent an interesting mix between normal bookshops and the press-market. In other words, next to the transitory newspapers and magazines, of which different issues shift in and out at regular intervals, these stores also stock more permanent merchandise such as regular books and ISBN listed comic books. It is, therefore, not surprising that Carlsen Comics chose train station bookshops when they organised their signing tours of their German *mangaesque* artists. Still, in light of the higher risk of the transitory press market, due to damaged goods and the monthly returns (Schwarz, interview, 30 August 2002), it makes sense for publishers to move into the book market. The lobbying of the Sales Departments is showing clear success: in Germany, sales in the assortment segment are rising and in 2005 - for about six years – had been higher than the sales through the traditional avenues (ibid. 29 July 2006). In the USA, *BookScan* numbers have replaced *Diamond* sales figures as the number one reference point for a title's success, as can be seen by the shift to use this data by industry media such as *Publishers Weekly* or *ICv2*.

[124] For example, the single English edition of the cyberpunk *Ghost in the Shell* (Shirow 1995[1991]) sold over 80,000 copies.

Another task of the Sales Department is to try to keep all retailers informed of up-coming products; due to this, the workings within the department needed to be reset to earlier deadlines, since both the book and the chain market tend to draw up sales plans a lot earlier than the magazine or comic book market (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). As already mentioned, graphic presentation material, ISBNs and synopsis of key story lines for new titles need to be ready about six months to a year before actual publication. This has led to a greater amount of sales catalogues with extra information to inform publishers about the different properties, as already observed. Publisher's catalogues, and in Germany the so called Branchenbriefe,[125] incorporate not just information on the property, but often also past or expected sales figures, similar titles already available and so forth.

6.10 EMA sales catalogue

6.11 Carlsen Comics sales leaflet

6.12 Broccoli sales leaflet

6.13 Tokyopop sales catalogue

6.14 German manga charts 2001

The two biggest manga publishers in Germany, Carlsen and EMA, have for a long time also published so-called 'manga charts', based on corroborated sales figures from representative outlets.[126] These list the top selling properties on sales posters that were mailed to the retailers alongside the new books.

[125] Meaning retail letters, the term refers to letters sent out to retailers about upcoming trends and planned marketing events and such.

[126] The Manga Charts use the correlated data from twenty-five representative bookstores and comic book shops (buchreport express 2001:18).

As discussed above, popularity makes a manga's production on the whole more feasible for the publishers. All the while, many publishers are trying to link all associations of the medium manga to their name, hoping to cement their market leadership through these means. While traditional book publishers do not try to brand themselves as the source of all books, modern comic publishers in general, and manga publishers in particular, seem to have started adopting this tactic in order to gain an advantage in a market which does not really understand its product. By branding themselves, they gain an edge, even if it moves them away again from establishing manga as a broad and diversified media form and back into a form of '*genre-lization*' of their product as singular and uniform in terms of both content and audience. In other words, manga become seen and are marketed, for all intents and purposes, as a genre (Kaps 2005:8). In recent years, big retail chains have thus called for clearer labelling and, in that way, have started to influence the packaging and content of localised content as well. In a strongly contested market, big chains hold a certain amount of power over packaging and content, as shown by Tokyopop's inclusion of genre tags on their books (TP Forum, Blu Moon posting, 19 July 2006). They assert their influence by back-channelling their demands through the manga localisers' Sales Departments (Dean, online, 14 April 2004; Ervin, interview, 17 July 2003). They have, for example, succeeded in pushing publishers to shrink-wrap not just mature 18+ books, but also older teen 16+ titles if they carry explicit sexual content, both in the USA and, to a lesser extent, in Germany (ICv2, online, 06 October 2004). In countries such as the USA, where retailers can be prosecuted (if not convicted) in court far more easily as Chapter Seven will highlight, this increases the problems of shelving and displaying mature titles. These are problems that the publishers must be aware of with regards to the way they create the publication's format and trade dress.

Re-inserting the Sales Department into the workflow, it will become apparent that this is where shaping their publications in the form of a brand becomes really handy for publishers. If the Sales Department can produce the right sales figures and a uniform, easily recognisable format and look, their negotiation position with retailers is heightened. Helped by associations through articles featuring the company in relevant trade papers and the company's reputation, manga companies have, in recent years, opened up new retail avenues. While some of these retail outlets, such

as bookstores, existed as sales points in the past, they have recently started to dominate sales and thus influence the working cycle of the Sales Departments. Due to the increasingly diversified retail platforms, especially in the USA, from traditional outlets such as specialist comic stores, through to now relatively established venues such as bookstores and chains, all the way to multimedia stores and mass market retailers such as Wal-Mart and Target, the Sales Department has to deal with different retail timetables and structures. Book chains normally plan up to a year ahead due to logistics and available shelf space; comic bookshops, on the other hand, operate on a quarterly schedule. US toy stores are even known to operate their Christmas line-up on a more than eighteen month schedule (Kleckner, interview, 17 July 2003). Next to the different timetables, the materials needed to bring in orders differ as well. Mock-up galleys of future titles featuring cover designs, clear ideas on age ratings and catalogues with detailed information, which are available early on, have also changed time management inside the department, as have the requirements of the preliminary work done by the Graphics, Editorial and Production Departments. All of these further the interdependence of the departments inside the company. It also means that the amount of capital which is needed to present the company in the market place has increased.

6.3 Inside Out

As this chapter has shown, both Marketing and Sales are vital parts of the localisation process in terms of its articulation and framing. The nature of the Marketing and Sales Departments' business relationships with these different aggregators varies from formal to informal, from influential to influenced and from being brand-shaping to attempts of media redefining. What also becomes apparent is that there are local differences between the two publishers researched, partially due to the different nature of their business environment and partially based on how they see and structure their identity as brands. Carlsen Comics perceives itself as a publisher and acts accordingly, both in terms of the way they describe their products as "all forms of printed pictorial storytelling" (Carlsen Comics PR Release 2007) and the relationships they form. Tokyopop views itself as a global multimedia provider and, as such, casts a wider net in terms of the products produced and the business environments covered.

While both have encouraged, supported and signed local talent, the pools from which they draw are overlapping but not identical. Carlsen Comics foregrounded the non-commercial factors of fun and competition for amateurs, while Tokyopop from the start framed their competition in terms of commerce. Thus, while both companies commercially published local productions, their PR and Marketing Strategy chose to emphasise different aspects. While again Carlsen Comics places the emphasis on the print medium, Tokyopop points to the fact that their own products automatically come with a built in possibility to exploit the property in different media if successful (Böckem, online, August 2006; ICv2, online, 06 October 2005). This is only possible with regards to licensed products if the publisher were willing to pay the license source further royalties and fees.

Another difference in the German and American business environments is the absence of singular corporate retailers that, through their decision to stock the product, can shape not just the output of one publisher, but influence the format of one becoming industry standard for all. Over the last five years, this influence of the big bookstore chains in terms of format, packaging and content has become part of an ongoing discussion about quality vs. quantity between both fans and professionals with regards to the American market (Dean, online, 14 April 2004; Jacques, online, 31 January 2005). When the industry source ICv2 named the ten most powerful people in American manga publishing, the crown went to Kurt Hassler, the then Graphic Novel buyer of the Borders Group (Borders and Walden Books), and fifth place belonged to Jim Killen, his counterpart from Barnes & Nobel (ICv2, online, 18 October 2006), showing that there were outside powers that were considered to have wide-reaching authority with regards to the way manga were produced. The same would not be possible in the fragmented German booksellers market. It also explains why Carlsen Comics structurally needs so many sales reps in the field travelling from store to store, in comparison to Tokyopop, where the vast majority of the Sales Department was stationary in Los Angeles. The American conglomerate structure revealed how it was influenced by its links and how this could lead to structural changes in 2008. Two of Tokyopop's biggest retail partners went under in December 2007 (Suncoast) and in the last quarter of 2008 (Borders US) (see: ICv2, online, 27 August 2008; ICv2, online, 17 December 2008). This directly linked to two massive

layoffs of employees working on Tokyopop's print media. Thirty-nine people were let go in the summer and a further group of eight at the end of the year (ANN, online, 12 December 2008; ICv2, online, 8 June 2008), which translated into a cut of their total American workforce by 40-45%.

What also became apparent is that, in both cases, marketing and production went hand in hand in an effort to reframe the definition of manga in order to further the fan network-related part of the publishers' brand identities, as supporters of fans' fantasies of turning their hobby into a job with the help of the brand they consume; basically, to become one with the brand, to take being part of the experience to the next level of involvement by becoming part of the canon. This increasing forging of (semi)professional ties to the production, not just in terms of classical fan production, but also in terms of officially sanctioned or at least tolerated extra texts, can also be found in the sci-fi and fantasy genres (Kozinets 2007:199), as exemplified by *Star Trek* (*Star Trek Phase II/New Voyages* can be found at http://www.startreknewvoyages.com/) and *Stargate* (*SG Horizon* can be found at: http://www.freewebs.com/stargate-horizon/index.htm) respectively, where actors of the original series reprise their roles within fan productions. In the end, this blurring of the line between canon and *fanon*[127] resembles how manga publishers are blurring the line between manga and *mangaesque* titles. Due to the wider spread of this trend, it is thought that this shows a change in the way media companies deal with interactivity and fan involvement in production; as such, they pay credence to the need of many consumers, especially fan consumers, to be a part of the experience (Ahonen and Moore 2005:14).

Combining the internally and externally-focused departments offers an important insight into the localisation of manga. It is clear that the inside is not immune to outside forces and that the reasons for trying to influence the localisation process differ in each company. In reality, a company, akin to a translator, has to be flexible in order to achieve the best possible result if it wants its product to succeed. While a stylised breakdown of the workflow exists, highlighting how things should be, there is

[127] *Fanon* describes a form of fan-constructed canon that becomes as well known and accepted as canon. A good example is *Harry Potter*'s Ginny Weasley. For a long time, before the author specified that the name was short for Ginevra, fans had settled on believing that it was short for Virginia; a name that until today, although canon has now been established, is widely used.

always the practical reality of what is, and as became apparent, this changes over time. Publishing a trendy media form, due to the fast changing cycle of developments, requires constant changes and adaptations. Many arguments within my thesis, which I originally paraphrased as possible future developments during 2000 and even 2002 and 2004, have already come to pass; some of them have also already disappeared again. Therefore, any attempts to over-determine the workflow will be obsolete before the diagram is finished. The transitory quality of media companies and the influences this has both on employees and the organisation is not a glitch in the system, it is its nature. Curiously enough, it is the dichotomy found within the theory written on translation as a practice which provides the best mirror for the constant discussion between different factions within the manga publishing world as to the 'proper way' to publish manga. This friction between theorists, which, in its modern form has been going on for over a century, is what proves to be the most helpful, since in the end it leads to the conclusion that all texts are polysemic. There are different ways of reading and translating them and, as the discussion of *mangaesque* texts shows, there are also those who try to redefine the nature of what defines a text in itself, for reasons that are not even textual in nature.

The last three chapters have also shown that the interests of different departments are not always the same. As a matter of fact, they might actually be diametrically opposed at times. Yet how do all these different stages of production come together when confronted with the demands of outside stakeholders such as the state, pressure groups and audiences?

Chapter 7
External Stakeholders

7.1 Unaltered artwork in the German edition

7.2 Altered artwork in the American edition

Sometimes the difference between the USA and Germany lies in the length of a finger. Both in Germany and the USA 'giving somebody the middle finger', also known as 'flipping the bird', is considered an obscene gesture, the contextual rating of this insult varies. In Germany, it is seen as obscene and highly juvenile, a lack of proper socialisation. In the USA, it is seen as worse, due to the more constant reminder of its sexual (fuck you[rself]) origin. In the context of a manga, aimed at teenagers (14+), the American version of the ninja adventure *Naruto* (Kishimoto 2000) was censored, turning the gesture into a fist shaken at the opponents. This decision could be seen as rather peculiar, since in an earlier volume of the manga series the same gesture had remained uncensored. The simple difference between vol.1 (2003) and vol.5 (2005) of *Naruto* is the different time they were published. In between these volumes, the manga's American publisher had received some pressure from parental groups and the PTA due to the content of its *Shônen Jump* manga anthology. This led to what the publisher perceived as a more acceptable alternative: one picture altered along the lines of 'political correctness'. In a German context, however, they did the exact opposite! The threat of physical violence aimed at another living being is seen as worse in the German context than the inherently 'verbal' expression of the original symbolic attack. What can be seen from this small example is that while Western national cultures do include common socio-historical and socio-political roots, their day-to-day cultural behavioural pattern shows great differences and thus presents the publishers with many challenges.

The example highlights that there are not only differences in the organisational workflow in terms of make-up, but also differences in content-related decisions that are taken by organisations based on their environment. This chapter will explore this fact by focusing on content and distribution changes dictated or influenced by organised outside forces, such as laws, pressure groups and audiences. The majority of this outside interference happens in relation to what can broadly be called contested speech or art. What is contested and how a society deals with it is culturally specific (e.g. Brockmeier and Kaiser 1996; Burt 1994; Zeisel 1984). Hence, the way an economic organisation engages with these issues, ranging from mild forms of obscenity through culturally specific fears to topics considered within the national group as taboo,[128] differs. Their approaches are both informed and structured via their own internal organisation and need to be juxtaposed with the external societal demands. As discussed, some translation scholars would frame these decisions as a suppression of the source culture (e.g. Liu 1999, Kelly and Johnston 2007; Dingwany and Maier 1995). This thesis, however, is more interested in the framing of these decisions by the target cultures. Here, these changes to the content are either framed as localisation (e.g. Borisov and Thomas 2004; Cooper-Chen 1994, 2005; Richardson and Meinhof 1999), adaptation (e.g. Allen 1995; Allison 2000b), propagandistic purpose (e.g. Cohen 1997; Dorfmann and Mattelart 1975) or censorship[129] (e.g. Brockmeier 1996; Wierlemann 2002). This chapter will focus predominantly on notions of censorship, since it marks the clearest site of "struggle between expression and authority" (Schesinger 1984:7) in any given cultural unit. Although there is always a consensus present, society also experiences a constant struggle between artistic expression and the authority exercised over that expression (ibid.) while constantly trying to induce or inhibit social change (Burt 1994:xiii). Ergo, an examination of censorship can articulate our struggles over the expression of local culture(s). As all of the discussed examples will show, there are various reasons cited by the state, watchdog organisations or publishers for various forms of censoring.

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[128] Based on the Togan word *tabu*, meaning forbidden. This concept of taboo did not exist in a Western context until the late 18th century (Allan and Burridge 2006:1f). Before then, everything was considered blasphemous; thus, we can see a distinction emerging between religious and cultural constrains during modernity.

[129] The term derives from the Latin word 'censor', meaning a type of magistrate who compiled a citizens' register that was used in the tax system. They were also responsible for overseeing the civic and moral behaviour of the Roman citizens. The term survived in relative uniformity within Italian, Spanish, French, English and German.

While the notion of censorship has been narrowed due to its move into a predominantly legally framed realm, it has also fanned out into a variety of recognised sub-groupings, such as state-censorship, market-censorship or self-censorship (Jansen 1988:15). State-based censorship, as laid out in laws, circumscribes the rules to which the publisher must adhere at the risk of prosecution in a criminal court. While both Germany and the USA declare in their most basic state-defining legal structure that 'censorship does not take place', there are various exceptions to the rule regulated either through the criminal or penal codes (Glaser 1996:291) as discussed below. Market-based censorship (Jansen 1988:16), which is based on a consensus of norms brought to bear on the publisher by interest groups and leading to self-censorship, will be discussed in the following sections, which focuses on the role of social institutions as the outside stakeholders. Yet, there are also those very vocal against censorship: fans. Their claims are most of the time non-reflective, unlike in other areas where they seek influence over the articulation of 'their' medium by publishers.

7.1 Regulating Culture

Censorship has always existed in one form or another, yet an in-depth historical analysis is not possible within the constraints of this thesis. The amount of literature is staggering.[130] What does become apparent, when reflecting on the forms that censorship has taken over the centuries, is that there are some underlying themes that re-surface again and again both in terms of subject matter and organisational approaches. So what is censorship? Its paradox is grounded in the above-mentioned fact that censorship is basically a form of social control (Jansen 1988:134). In the end, the type of state does not matter when it comes to the imagined or real need of various classes and organisations throughout history to uphold the social consensus in which their power, in whatever form, is founded and continues to reside (McCarthy 1995:6f). The fear of opposition, and therefore, the loss of control through the dissemination of contradicting views or framings of 'reality', leads to the construction of taboos, social silences and areas of 'speech' that are curtailed (e.g. Potter 2003; Wierlemann 2002). What is seen as essentially worth protecting varies over time and

[130] For good overviews over various areas of censorship refer to Barker and Petley (2001); Cohen (1997); de Grazia (1992); Heins (2001); Jansen (1988); McCarthy and von der Ohe (1995); Warnke (1988) and Zeisel (1984).

space, but it includes both specific conceptual areas, such as religion, politics or morals (M.F.H.R 1994:11), and the esteem an oppositional group or even a specific media carrier holds within a society's constructed hierarchy of sanctioned cultural expression (Potter 2003:20).

The two prevailing differences in scholarly thinking were already visible in ancient times, and still inform the current discourse. Firstly, is culture politically motivated, and if so by whom and for what kind of purposes? To put it another way, is culture a distraction to keep the majority of people from taking part in important decisions? Secondly, 'text' and 'images as texts' are no more than constructed representations of reality, yet they are both often framed by the parties engaged in this discourse as constituting reality (Mansfield 2005:24). As this chapter will show, some groups see texts in this way for various reasons. I want to keep in mind that they are but artefacts and articulations, which sit on the boundary between reality and imagination.

What all times and places have in common is a fear that stems from an unease and mistrust of what is perceived as the seductive quality of the 'unknown', usually referring to the effect an image or articulation might have or the action it might provoke, in other words, a fear of that that is 'uncontrollable' (Freedberg 1989:278f). In reference to the afore-mentioned *Naruto* example, while the finger is visible, the effect this articulation might have on the juvenile reader and the resulting actions the reader might take are 'unknown'. It might be that absolutely nothing will happen when these images are consumed, yet the fear that people might be seduced by the ideas into taking action, leads to the construction of boundaries in, for example, the form of censorship rules (Freedberg 1989:376). This Western concept of 'seductiveness', of being led astray from a proper character and a citizen's appropriate development, as defined in a local context, in its current guise mostly focuses on the cognitive and moral development of 'children' (Inge 1990:17). From Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) to the recent right-wing Christian critique of Rowling's *Harry Potter* (1997) or Pullman's *His Dark Materials* (1995) in the book sector, through comics, films, animation and videogames, to the internet, the list is ever growing. Most of these media suffered initial phases of critique shortly after they were introduced (Gauntlett 2001:54). Accordingly, modern Western culture tends to segregate children into a specifically-censored world in order to keep their innocence intact (Martineau

1997:232). Perceived violations of this space often lead to moral panics (e.g. Barker and Petley 2001; Critcher 2003; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Heins 2001; Jones 2002; Potter 2003). In the area of media, these theories are linked to what is usually called 'effect' theory (Barker and Petley 2001:7). Since comics as such, and thus manga by default, are still seen as a children's medium by many, publishers have to be very aware of these tendencies just as they have to be aware of the conflicting notions of another culture's supposed seductiveness, be it as a political tool or as pacification of the masses.

7.1.1 Culture is always Political

One of the major issues of fear is linked to 'deviant' politics. I use the term 'politics' in the broader sense, as in opposing systems of meaning that regulate and structure, and are utilised in building and maintaining organisations and institutions. Here, the issue of a state's control over its articulation and the oppression of divergent opinions take shape (c.f. Burt (ed.) 1994). The notion of state(-like) control can be found in the approach of the Roman Empire (Glaser 1996:289), the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages (Schesinger 1984:7), early modern nation state-based attempts such as the Carlsbad Decree[131] (Siemann 1995:68) or Modernities' law-based approaches (e.g. Wiener 1984).

These fears of instability are grounded in the fact that art and speech always have the possibility of being carriers of radically different opinions. Hence they might be utilised to distract and 'seduce' citizens into opposing the officially sanctioned and politically institutionalised status-quo constructed by the 'legitimate' rulers (Burt 1994:xiii). This possibility 'forces' the state to defend and enshrine the existing norms in an attempt to retain control (McCarthy 1995:6). This control can and has encompassed both written text and pictures. The regulation of the popular 'art form' of graffiti, as early on as the Roman Empire, developed both as a form of protest aiming to shock and as a means to communicate secret messages, and took precedence over the censorship of other forms of images (Besançon 2000:2). Graffiti, as mixed visual displays of discontent, were seen as dangerous since, due to their pictorial straightforwardness and the mostly iconic character of the imagery, they were considered accessible to every strata of society (Glaser 1996:289). Similar

[131] For further information and a full version of the decree please refer to history.hanover.edu/texts/carlsbad.htm.

fears about the influence these mixed sign messages could provoke later on resurfaced in the discourse about the effects of comics, film, television and video games (e.g. Barker and Petley 2001; Heins 2001; Potter 2003; Springhall 1994, 1998). The re-politicising of comics in the 1960s led publishers to push for more liberal rules, and the establishment tried to curtail them. The independent underground comics that started to appear, like the political pamphlets of the era, were produced by a political counter-culture (Nyberg 1998:137f). These comics were sold predominantly as mail order products since regular retail channels were not available to them; thus, they became responsible for the development of specialised "retail outlets, including alternative record stores and bookstores, [which] along with so-called head shops, were created for distribution" (Nyberg 1998:137). Thus, by restricting access to certain materials, as is still practised directly (Germany) or indirectly (USA), the reach of these materials is censored, as will be shown regarding manga.

7.1.2 Culture as Distraction and Seduction

In juxtaposition, many scholars, clergymen and (socio-) political movements have been convinced that by regulating and banning certain materials (for example, theatre, prose, imagery or music) people would be less distracted from important matters and the in-group (e.g. the religious congregations, the state) would automatically become stronger (Glaser 1996:289).[132] Cultural products are seen here in the tradition of the Roman 'bread and games' philosophy, or to use Marxist vocabulary, 'opium for the masses' (Marx 1970:131). Both articulations describe cultural products as tools used to ensure the stability of the (capitalist) state rather than undermine it. Enlightenment scholars took Plato's notion further and attributed a clear intent to the application of art, science and religion as a means of influencing people's pastimes (Wild 1993:13). Gramsci later used the term 'hegemony' to describe this state-sponsored behaviour (1971:12). This normally broadly-present consensus within society leads to normative, 'socially constructed silences' (Jansen 1988:134), or taboos within this agreed-upon structure of seemingly universal moral principles, which in reality are shaped through power (Norbook 1994:3) through the interests of a politically-dominant faction (Brockmeier 1996:2).

[132] Plato came to this conclusion by observing the constant defeats of Athens by the hands of the Spartans whose culture frowned upon such pastimes.

Early on, the links between (especially juvenile) under-educated masses that were easily seduced through suggestions found in images (Murdock 2001:155), and lower forms of text (Allan and Burridge 2006:35), was already an established, officially sanctioned argument for the restriction of expression. This is a notion that parents and moral-panic advocates regularly employ regarding visual and textual mass media (Heins 2001:15). Echoes of it can be found not only in the framing of moral panics, but also in state-based regulations aimed at protecting minors, such as the German *JschÖG* (*Gesetz zum Schutz der Jugend in der Öffentlichkeit*, 1951)[133] and *GjS* (*Gesetz über die Verbreitung jugendgefährdender Schriften*, 1953/61).

Dime novels, comics' direct predecessors, were caught up in such a moral panic perpetrated by anti-vice societies, moral reformers and legislators. Comstock, the author of the USA's first federal anti-obscenity law (1873), started a campaign by linking them to the vice and sin that corrupt minors. His campaign ultimately led to the bankruptcy of the novels' publisher (West 1988:8f). Comics themselves first became the centre of such a middle-class-fuelled panic, started by the psychiatrist Wertham,[134] during the first decade following the Second World War (West 1988:45). Wertham saw various aspects of comics as problematic: the violence, the 'unhealthy sexual attitudes' and the fact that comics hindered the development of children's reading skills (for a full discussion refer to Wertham 1954). Other countries, such as Britain, followed a similar pattern (Barker 1989:5). Germany saw action-based approaches, such as the exchange programs *Gutes Buch gegen schlechten Comic* (Get a good book in exchange for a bad comic) and comic burning in the 1950s. Weapons were erased and language toned-down in reprints of older issues of titles (Dolle-Weinkauff 1990:96). It is thus not surprising that the controversy surounding manga has largely followed within this tradition. It also shows that while moral panics and crusades are initiated by private persons or independent institutions, they can often led to state-based regulations, unless the industry self-regulates first as both comics (e.g. Barker 1989; Dolle-Weinkauff 1990; Nyberg 1998; Springhall 1994) and film (Cohen 1997; Hirano 1992; Springhall 1998) did in the past.

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[133] This set of laws was changed at various points in time to incorporate new requirements, for example, internet rules

[134] Wertham's study *Seduction of the Innocent* dealing with the allegedly negative effect of comics was published in 1954. Comics are accused of destroying children's and teenagers' innocence due to the alleged seductiveness of their pictures and the easy-to-read text that accompanies them.

7.2 Law-based Censorship in Manga

This section will examine actual censorship in manga. First of all, it is important to note that censorship can take place only if the Japanese rights holder agrees to it; the reason for the censorship needs to be presented by the localiser and then granted by the original rights holder (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002; Verdini, interview, 22 March 2003). It is thus up to the localiser to present their case, and for the Japanese to decide if it can go forward. The question is, which rules and organisations apply to them and how do publishers engage with them? Which parts of the organisation are involved in the various aspects of this process? As was mentioned before, both countries possess laws that restrict certain types of expression. However, as will become apparent, there are differences both in terms of what is curtailed and the organisational way in which transgressions are handled.

7.2.1 Germany

Post-World War Two Germany established a new system of censorship combining the traditions of state-based control with modern notions of democratic rights of participation. While incorporating the freedom of expression into their basic law structure, it left open the possibility to regulate any media seen as harmful to minors. Germany's above mentioned *JschÖG* is anchored to article §5 of the *Grundgesetz*. §5 guarantees freedom of expression and access to information, yet sub-clause no.2 allows for the possibility of restricting this right in order to keep children safe (Stefan 1983:99). Furthermore, the German system has legislation against child pornography integrated into §184 of the *StGB* (*Strafgesetzbuch*). While the protection of minors clauses mostly deal with limiting access to materials, child pornography is a field where publishers employ censorship to avoid being prosecuted in Criminal Court as discussed below. Manga publishers have to consider both sets of rules every time they decide to pick up a licence (Kaps, interview 23 August 2002). This first part will deal with clear state guidelines, while the BPjM will be dealt with later on in conjunction with market-censorship due to its approach of citizen participation. This chapter will discuss both these issues and consider how the publisher confronts them.

Three different areas of expression are curtailed: child pornography, certain types of violence and the use of restricted NAZI symbols (Hillebrand 1978:44-50). Manga publishers most often are faced with the two latter ones, although there are issues regarding the first as well. Due to laws being fixed and applicable to the country's whole territory, publishers can use a list of previously prosecuted and banned materials as guidelines in order to see what might cause offence or give rise to problems (Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002). Müller (interview 11 August 2003) points out that the laws are still too vague to be certain in 100% of the cases. Hence, manga publishers have to explore the possibilities and impossibilities of various options, as after all, the laws do not include *dos and don'ts* for all occasions, since standards change over time (Schäfter, interview, 20 March 2003; Kaps, interview, 23 August 2002; Tempel, interview, 20 March 2003). For this reason, publishers keep lawyers on a retainer, both to gauge possible difficulties and to represent them in court or tribunals should problems arise (ibid.), as will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

First, it is important to reflect on the restriction of Nazi and Nazi-related symbols in a German context, which publishers have to navigate since it is a highly localised practice. Germany considers Nazi symbols as propagandistically tainted. The German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch - StGB) contains a paragraph (§86a) that regulates the use of 'Verwendung von Kennzeichen verfassungswidriger Organisationen' (the use of symbols linked to unconstitutional organizations). A person defying this clause can be convicted in a criminal court and either faces a maximum sentence of three years in jail or must pay a fine. Theoretically, all depictions of the swastika (and its mirror image) are banned unless they are portrayed in the right socio-historical context. This usually refers to the use of these symbols in a 'scientific' or 'factual' context, meaning that the symbol can be included in history books, news reports, memoirs, documentaries about the era or social studies of Neo-Nazis and so on, as long as their purpose is not pro-Nazi propaganda.

7.3 The original Japanese kimono back

7.4 The altered German version.

Yet when it comes to Japanese manga, the problem is not as clear-cut. The swastika has a long cultural and historical background in Hinduism and Buddhism (for an in-depth discussion refer to Malcom 1994). Based on the *Grundgesetz*'s religious freedom clause, every group has the right to practise and express their religion using the appropriate symbols, yet when it comes to the swastika, this right is denied. This has become even more of a discussion topic because the majority of younger people do not understand why an *Indiana Jones* (Spielberg 1981) movie can be shown without a problem and *Blade of the Immortal* (Samura 1994), with its very clear historical link to Buddhist religion, cannot be published uncensored.[135] The reason behind this lies partially in the esteem in which the medium is held and the financial background that would allow the producers to endure a legal battle (Temple, interview, 20 March 2003). Publishers thus inquire beforehand in cases where they see it as important and proper to keep the symbols intact, as was the case with *Monster* (Urasawa 1994) and *Adolf* (Tezuka 1983). *Adolf*, a manga by Tezuka, is in many aspects similar to *Maus* (Spiegelman 1986) in that it combines fictional elements with historical facts. While Spiegelmann chose to portray his characters as animals, Tezuka chose to tell the story of three different men all named Adolf, one of whom was Hitler. However, both stories deal with the suppression of the Jewish people, ethnic hostility and the terror of the regime. *Adolf* was already being discussed during my fieldwork as a title that Carlsen wanted to publish in 2002, but only if it could keep the imagery intact. The title had been handed to the German lawyers who were looking into the case in order to make sure

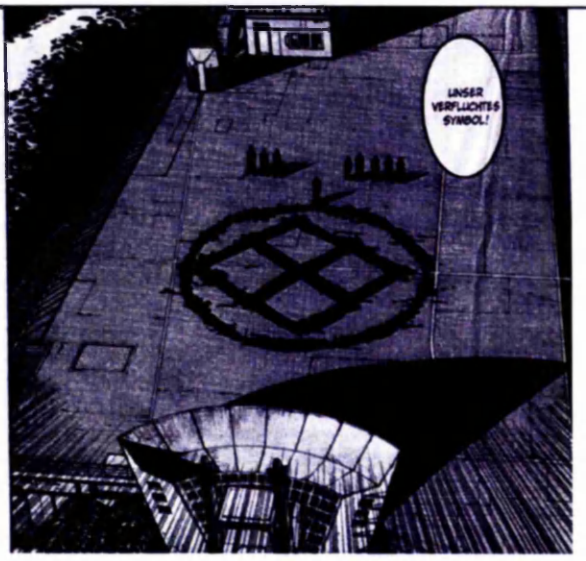
[135] While the historical setting also helped to pave the way for *Indiana Jones*, American films and TV series have been exempted from this rule since the 1990s. Earlier on, for example, the *Star Trek* episode 52 – *Patterns of Force* employing Nazi imagery was banned from being shown on German television. The episode has only been available on video, in a German translation, since 1995. Similar episodes of the same franchise, such as the *Enterprise* episodes *Storm Front* I and II (episodes 77 and 78), on the other hand, did not encounter any problems.

this could be achieved without suffering a lawsuit. The first volume was finally published uncensored in November 2005.

Furthermore, the tendency of some *manga-ka's* symbolic use of Fascist iconography as a signifier to convey personal or state oppression might actually be interpreted along fascist lines by a casual reader non-fluent in manga's iconographic language. Unfortunately, in Japan, Nazi symbolism is seen as a way to convey this oppression without having to use any words, a technique that is also repeatedly used by American television shows whenever they need stereotypical 'bad guys' (Schneider 1995:11).

One a day-to-day basis, editors flag up the swastika and other problem areas in books for which they consider possible licences, in order to make sure the subject can be included in licence talks. Sometimes this call for changes means they will be denied the licence and sometimes this means long discussions between the licence source and the licensee, as was the case with the vampire action adventure *Hellsing* (Hirato 2004[1997]). The artist was originally against the alterations to his artwork. He decided to agree only after *Hellsing* had become a huge success in the USA (Schäfer, interview, 20 March 2004). Since the *manga-ka* sometimes wish to change the symbol instead, it is not surprising that the chosen forms vary from title to title.

7.5 *Bronze* 2



7.6 Altered artwork in the German *Hellsing* edition

The other areas that German laws regulate very strictly, through §131 *StGB* and §6 *GjS*, concern the combining of violence with either sex, racial hatred or the occult

(Stefan 1983:102). To show somebody taking delight in somebody else's pain or the degradation of another person is, therefore, not permissible. It is also not permissible to show penetration during a rape scene (Müller, interview, 11 August 2003). There are some cases where, in the Japanese original, individuals are shown who enjoy inflicting pain (and receive pleasure from inducing pain) on a victim and these need to be changed in order to allow publication. There are various ways in which publishers deal with this kind of situation if it arises. First of all, however, it is important to mention that rape scenes are not an everyday occurrence in manga (Perper and Cornog 2002:3) despite what some popular press articles would imply. There are currently two rape scenes that were censored in German manga. Panini's *Hagane* (Kanzaki 2003[1998])(volume 3) and EMA's *Naru Taru* (Kitoh 2002[1998])(volume 6).

EMA chose to censor the sci-fi story *Naru Taru* (volume 6) by introducing a thong and some tactically placed onomatopoeia. EMA's Editor-in-Chief Tempel explained the situation in the following way to me: "By placing the sound of screams and not showing the actual penetration, we changed the emphasis of the scene to the suffering of the victim" (interview, 20 March 2003). EMA discussed the upcoming changes with the title's artist and Japanese publisher Kodansha to find a solution that would be satisfactory for both (ibid.). Furthermore, after discussion with the Sales Department, the whole series was placed into the '18+' segment although the other volumes were far more tame, thus restricting the access to the material in an approach that might be called self-censorship by some, and responsible behaviour by others (Hoffmann, interview, 20 March 2003). This way, the publisher wanted to make sure that the upcoming sixth volume would not seem a 'must have' to all the teenage readers who would have been able to pick up the preceding volumes (Tempel, interview, 20 March 2003). EMA, in an unusual move, discussed the upcoming censorship in its online forum[136] for about one and a half years prior to publication. Fans of the series tried to lobby for an uncensored version. In the end, EMA also included an explanatory article at the end of the volume openly revealing the censorship and discussing the story's background, which had prompted the author's violent depiction.

[136] This posting included a panel-by-panel listing of the upcoming changes; for a complete listing, refer to http://www.schnittberichte.com/ (logged 08 September 2003).

7.7 A thong is introduced in this alteration

7.8 An onomatopoeia is used to cover the penetration

7.9 Article on *Ijime* (page 218, volume 6)

France discontinued *Naru Taru* with volume 5 in order to avoid the controversy (Hoffmann, interview, 20 March 2003). Dark Horse's censorship of the scene is relatively similar to the German censorship, yet it placed less emphasis on the victim (Ervin, interview, 17 July 2003).

7.2.2 The BPjM

While, as the state-based regulations showed earlier in this chapter, there are clear issues that are not allowed to be published, there are also related issues that are less clear in their boundaries; these are mostly related to the 'endangerment of minors' argument. Germany possesses a permanent body controlling media products brought to their attention by third parties, the Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien (BPjM) in Bonn.[137] This BPjM is affiliated to and yet at the same time independent from the Ministry of Family, Women and Youth. They have a permanent body that deals with the different complaints handed in by various authorities, such as ministries and the Jugendämter. If a private person has a complaint, these are normally channelled through these institutions. The permanent body informs the relevant media publisher of the complaint that has been filed and gives them time to prepare a defence. These cases are then placed in front of a tribunal of twelve

[137] Previously known as the Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften (BPjS), however it was renamed in 2003 to reflect its new broader mandate which includes webpage content, music and video games.

members, who usually hail from organisations such as Jugendämter, church, media retail organizations, teaching organisations, art organisations and literary organisations (Buschmann 1997:33).

The BPjM is viewed critically in Germany for various reasons, one of these being the people they choose to sit on their tribunals, who can pass decisions, which are binding, by placing a book, a comic, a music recording or a video game on the *Index* (Glaser 1996:292). This mandate now also includes webpages and other online and digital content.[138] Once a book is placed on the *Index,* it is no longer permissible to promote the book or list it in retail catalogues, thus significantly restricting retail options, which means that they are basically banned (Stefan 1983:101). The decisions of the tribunal can only be revoked in the administrative courts.[139] Yet, even this appeal possibility is problematic, as the Rotwohl case a few years back showed.[140] The tribunals ruling in their case, which was in clear violation of the Grundgesetz, prompted the publisher to approach the National Constitutional Court in Berlin with the case in 1987 in order to have it revoked (Glaser 1996:304). The court took until November 1990 to reach a decision. The decision stood in conformity with the Grundgesetz and deleted the Administrative court rules and the placing of the book on the *Index* (ibid.:304). The court stated as follows: "Insbesondere untersagt das Gericht der Bundesprüfstelle wie auch der Verwaltungsgerichtsbarkeit, Werke minderen künstlerischen Rangs vom Schutz des Grundgesetzes auszunehmen" (ibid.:304), that is, "This rule states that it is not up to the BPjS to decide what is artistic enough to be seen as valuable enough in their eyes to rate it worthy of protection, but that every artistic expression first and foremost is protected." The court also stated that, in the future, research needed to be carried out, for example, by hired experts, to determine whether or not a text could be seen as a danger (ibid.:305).

Let us consider three examples that undisclosed sources felt believed to deserve to be placed on the *Index*. Note that the BPjM blacks out the sources of the original complaint in the rulings published,. The first two are a rejection and a placement on the *Index,* and the third one highlights the shortcomings of the institution's scope.

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[138] Film and TV are looked after by a different agency, the FSK (Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle). The FSK, like the British bbfc, give a title an age rating before it is published. If they believe a title not to be suitable they can give it a 'Keine Jugendfreigabe' label 18+) or deny a label altogether.

[139] There are three levels: the local courts, the regional courts and the national court.

[140] For further information on the Mutzenbacher case refer to Glaser (1996:294ff).

The citizen power-linked structure of the BPjM becomes apparent when looking at the string of manga that were placed on the *Index* due to charges of access violence with disturbing sub-factors. Moral panics[141] linked to juvenile violence are nothing new and the reasons are varied; often these panics are a dramatic treatment based loosely on events that are widely covered in the media (Murdock 2001:158), such as murders, cults or antisocial behaviour patterns. Germany experienced such a moral panic as a result of the Leipzig school shooting in April 2002 and the subsequent events. As Jones (2002:100) points out, phases of the portrayal of intense violence in entertainment media often become popular with children after real violence has been committed; the mediated violence gives them tools with which they confront their anxieties about the real violence in a safe and removed manner. This is not to say that all depictions of violence are commendable. It is, however, the claim of media effects theorists that even one exposure to these images can lead to an addiction to violence (Barker 2001:32). Various eras accordingly saw re-occurring issues – from horror through violence, to the occult and sex – linked to the 'ill effects' media had on children. This theory seems to be everlasting yet never truly proven (Barker and Petley 2001:2). However, that it is not proven is of little importance to most of those involved since they see it as a fact, just as the above-mentioned state attorney in Texas saw it as a fact that comics are for children (ICv2, online, 04 August 2003b). Goode and Ben-Yehuda argue that the moral panic in itself, as initiated by activists whose agenda is furthered by them, are society's way of reacting to wide-spread concern by limiting diversity, not necessarily in an actual manner, but at least in a symbolic one 1994:20 and 92) or through the establishment of new social actors (Potter 2003:20). Now, as argued above, violence has always been at the forefront of German concerns related to media and this concern takes special precedence regarding media available to minors.

The year 2005 saw the discontinuation of *Arms* (Minagawa 2003[1997]), a story depicting among other things, 'excessive violence' (BPjM 2004:4). The BPjM had indexed volume 2 in 2004 (Entscheidung Nr. 5256); after long deliberation, the series was subsequently, abandoned by its publisher, since they could not be positive that future volumes would not suffer a similar fate. It is important to note here that, under

[141] Moral panics are a sociological concept established by Cohen (1973:9), who links deviance from societal sanctioned behaviour and norms to groups trying to fight for the reestablishment of these boundaries, in other words, putting a stop to the deviance through social pressure and regulation (Critcher 2003:11)

normal circumstances, only single volumes can be indexed and not a whole series at once, since every volume needs to be judged separately. Volume 2 contained three separate instances of violence that the BPjM saw as sadistic and terrorising: two characters killing their parents in cold blood, the same characters gassing twenty-eight students on a school bus and their attempt at napalm bombing their old school (BPjM 2004:3f). Planet Manga's lawyer argued that the black and white nature of the images removed the violence enough from reality to seem unrealistic, that the killing of the parents and the students was explained through the suffering the perpetrators had suffered at their hands, that a large portion of the violence was directed at cyborgs and not humans and that not all the violence was seen as positive (BPjM 2004:4). Still, the jury of twelve decided that the plot fell into the category that would negatively influence a child's socio-ethical development in terms of violence (BPjM 2004:6).

The fact that the characters always attack, take perverse pleasure in the pain they inflict on others and show no repentance sets this manga apart from the manga the defence used as an example of why this manga should not be indexed (BPjM 2004:6). The refusal to index the manga *Battle Angel Alita* (Kishiro 1996[1990]) (Volume 7) in 2003 (Entscheidung Nr.5198) rests upon the fact that Alita uses violence only when defending herself from attack, but never initiates it (BPjM 2003:2). This tendency to differentiate between self-defence and the initiation of violence for pleasure and the glorification of violence can also be seen in the indexing of two other manga published by Planet Manga: *Hellsing* – volume 4 (Entscheidung Nr. 6963) and *red Eyes* (Sindo 2001[2000]) (volume 7) (Entscheidung Nr. 6908) (BPjM 2005d, e). Planet Manga's decision to discontinue the *Arms* title after the listing of said volume becomes clear when reflecting on their experience with the title *Vampire Master* (Urushihara 2002[2000]), which saw both volumes 1 (Entscheidung Nr 63970 and the censored version of volume 3 (Entscheidung Nr.5282) put on the *Index*, even after the publisher decided to publish a censored version (from 16+) next to the regular one (only for 18+) from volume 2 onwards (BPjS 2002, 2005c). A renewed experience of a double indexing would have been problematic for the publisher since it might be interpreted by their business partners and society at large as a failure to learn from past performances.

7.10 Erotic storylines mixed with sex education

Another manga that was placed in front of the BPjM for *Index* consideration in 2005, but which was dismissed, is the sexually explicit and sometimes sex-educational *Manga Love Story* (Katsu 2003 [1997]) – volume 6 published by Carlsen Comics. The title debuted in Carlsen's 2003 summer programme, but was already in pre-production during my research placement. During the summer of 2002, the Editorial Department discussed whether they should frame the title as an 'erotic' or 'sex educational' title in terms of marketing. Since the publisher felt the title had the potential to be a good seller, they felt it important to label it appropriately to avoid a negative impact on their reputation and to make sure it reached its proper adult audience (Carlsen Comics, Editorial Meeting 27 August 2002). The title was also presented to the sales conference to see what the reaction in terms of age structure and genre choice should be. At the end of August, the title also ended up on my desk, in order for me to check if the educational statistics and facts displayed corresponded with actual Japanese statistics and known sex educational advice. This proved to be a bit of a challenge due to my Japanese vocabulary in this area being limited, but a preliminary raw translation of some passages proved their information to be viable. In the end, the publisher decided to shrink-wrap the title, place a visible 'from 16+' label on the book and place it in the genre category 'romance' (Carlsen Manga Vorschau 5/2003- 11/2003).

All preparations notwithstanding, an undisclosed conservative entity tried to have the series placed on the German *Index* due to the fact that they saw it as 'pornographic' and 'degrading towards women' (BPjM Entscheidung Nr.5276:2).[142] The BPjM dismissed these claims for various reasons, specifically, the claim of 'juvenile endangerment' was invalid due to the book's clear warning label 16+, and the fact that it was distributed shrink-wrapped, which clearly showed the publisher's awareness of parents' rights to be made aware of the adult themes. It dismissed the

[142] Original German wording "Der Antragsteller beantragt die Indizierung, weil der Inhalt des Buches seines Erachtens jugendgefährdend ist, da er pornographisch sei und die Frau zum sexuellen Reizobjekt degradiere."

claim of 'pornographic degradation' of the female character due both to the clearly consensual nature of the relationship between married adults discovering sex with each other, and the fact that both partners are portrayed as equals in that relationship. This notion of 'sexual discovery' in terms of education as exemplified by a variety of statistical, medical and psychological information further moves the title away from pornography (BPjM 2005b:3). During the same session, another adult manga *Golden Boy* (Egawa 2001[1991]), published by Carlsen, was also discussed and dismissed as not harmful (Entscheidung Nr.5275). It had received the same criticism from an undisclosed, probably identical source, given the timing and wording of the complaint (BPjM 2005a).

While both these decisions can be seen as making sense since they cover actual story elements, but there are also examples that show the clear shortcomings of this system. EMA published the *Sailor Moon* anime comics next to the *Sailor Moon* manga. Issue 21/2000 of this title, based on screencaps of the anime (BPjS 2001), includes a scene of intra-media humour that, unfortunately, was lost in translation due to timing and the translator's lack of knowledge.

7.11 The page which caused offence

The scene pokes fun at the other big manga/anime hit in Japan at the time the series was aired: the sassy comedy *Crayon Shin-Chan* (Usui 1992). However, *Crayon Shin-Chan* did not make its debut in Germany until two to three years after *Sailor Moon* had become a hit and the volume was published. *Crayon Shin-Chan* is about a conceited little boy commenting on life in a rather crude fashion. One of his favourite past times is 'mooning' people.[143] *Sailor Moon* pokes fun at this character's habit by having a boy doing the same in front of Chibi-Usa. She screams in horror and he gets smacked by his mother. In the Japanese version, he even uses the same words that Crayon usually uses. Due to the way the pictures are shown, however, the Jugendamt Hamburg felt the need to index the issue because it 'show[ed] a sexual act of oral sex between two minors'. How they arrived at this interpretation of the scene is hard to see, but the BPjS agreed with them and indexed the publication (Entscheidung Nr.5061).

[143] Dropping his trousers and giving people a clear view of his naked buttocks.

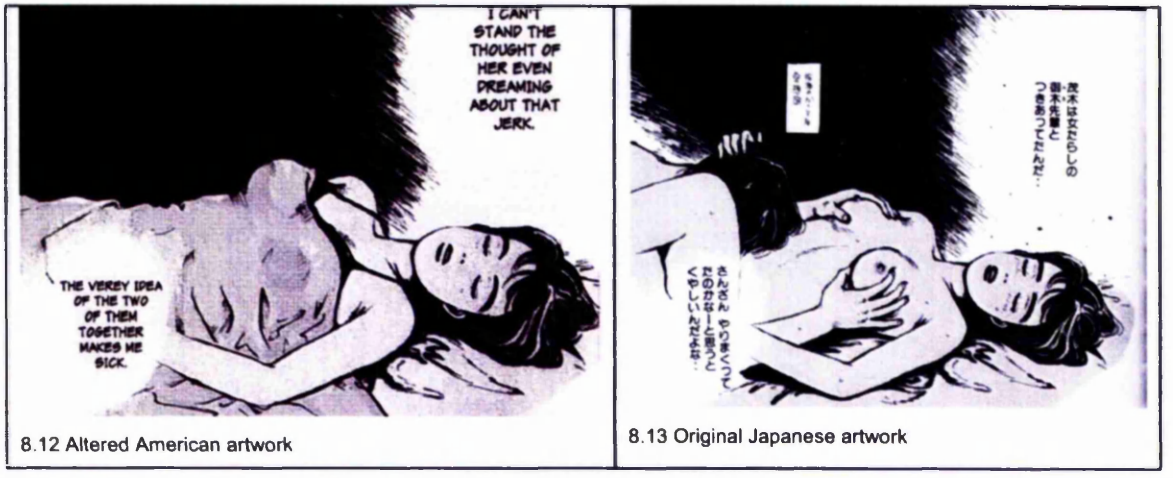
7.2.3 The USA

The situation American publishers face is less straightforward since there is no centralized system or nation-wide standard. There are rules and regulations that are laid out in laws and Acts passed by Congress as well as state laws. However, for the most part, enforcement is left to market-based pressures inducing compliance, as will be discussed later on. The majority of the rules relevant to manga are state- and federal legislation and rulings focusing on obscenity and child-endangerment.

Two more recent legal decisions that have had some, and might have a more major impact on American publishers in the future, can be seen in the recent court ruling in the New South Wales Supreme Court (Australia) and the ongoing legal battle in Iowa (*USoA vs. Handley*). The New South Wales court upheld a ruling that found a man guilty of possessing child pornography. The images on his computer were sexualised depictions of characters from *The Simpsons* (Groening 1989). The judge argued that, while the cartoon characters were fictional and not realistic people, they could be perceived as such and, therefore, the material was to be considered an offence (The Brisbane Times, online, 08 December 2008). This ruling echoes issues that have been heavily debated in the USA as well. The American government pre-empted child pornography from First Amendment rights in 1982 (*New York v. Ferber*) and various campaigns led to the *CPOEA* (*Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act* - 1988) being passed. The *CPOEA* banned the production, distribution and possession of child pornography in the USA, and was clearly aimed at prosecuting the producers. Unfortunately, over time, legislation meant to protect children has developed into a new "cultural and legal strategy whereby reality and representation are effectively collapsed into one regulable category" (Mansfield 2005:21). Problems for US media producers started in 1996 when the follow-up legislation *CPPA* (*Child Pornography Prevention Act*) was passed. The new structure criminalised not only real pornographic images of children, but also tried to provide tools to deal with digital, and often constructed, images which appear to be of minors, thus effectively moving fabricated images, such as cartoons, comics and films with actors over the age of consent pretending to be teenagers, for example, *American Beauty* (Mendes 1999), and *Romeo + Juliet* (Luhman 1996), into the criminal realm (Mansfield 2005:24f). The *CPPA* was challenged by a broad coalition and succumbed to a First Amendment challenge before the Supreme Court in 2002 (*Ashcroft v. Free Speech*

Coalition). This did not stop the American legislators from incorporating most of *CPPA*'s text into *COPPA* (*Child Obscenity and Pornography Prevention Act*, 2003), an integral part of *PROTECT* (*Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today*). The only major difference between *CPPA* and *COPPA* is that *COPPA* incorporates a clause that allows the accused an 'affirmative defence'; in other words, if the accused can prove that the actors were over the age of consent or the character was completely fabricated, the accusation is nil (Mansfield 2005:28f). While clearly fabricated images have, for now, been removed, there is a lingering fear that the law might change or that the definition of 'fabricated' might shift. Here the vocabulary shifts between notions of 'representation' and 'reality'. This fear, of art being a form of the 'real', returned in full force with the onset of the digital age (Mansfield 2005:21f), or as McRobbie remarked, "there *is* no going back... for populations transfixed on images which are themselves a reality" to them (1986:115). Chen (1996:314) seconds this opinion when he argues that scholars have to theorise 'texts' and 'images' as part of the 'real' rather than the 'imaginative' world, since they present themselves, like all media, as a visualisation of the public at large (Hartley 1992:2). Thus, while New South Wales is not an American state, the historic tendency of the American system to look to other Anglophone territories, most specifically Great Britain, throughout history in terms of past-present court-rulings (for example, Burt 1994; deGrazia 1992; Heins 2001) grants this ruling an especial significance for publishers, particularly considering that the guilty plea in the Handley case (*USoA vs. Handley*) "to possessing obscene visual representations of the sexual abuse of children and mailing obscene material" (CBLDF, online, 21 May 2009) is also based on stylised fictional manga images. Handley had been arrested and his media possenssions seized by customs and postal police, criminal investigators and local police in May 2006 (CBLDF, online, 09 October 2008). Then he was charged with violations against 18 USC. §1466A of the *PROTECT* Act (*USoA vs. Handley*). While the CBLDF is still hopeful that the significance of this case will be minimal, due to the ruling being handed down in a district court rather than a federal one (CBLDF, online, 21 May 2009) and the fact that plea bargains are usually not binding on other cases (Trexler, online, 22 May 2009), there is no telling what preemptive decisions publishers and retailers might take.

Due to the legal insecurity this raises, publishers employ different strategies to avoid coming into conflict with *COPPA*. Publishers often age characters, as happened in, for example, *Gun Smith Cats* (Sonoda 1997[1991]), or tone down their sexuality if they are underage by American standards. Volume 1 of *Initial D* (Shigeno 2002[1997]), a manga focusing on illegal street car racing, offers one example of such a change. One of the minor female characters had had a relationship with an older student of an undefined age, and later on, an affair with a middle-aged man who paid her for sex. Since aging her character would have taken her out of sync with the main characters, Tokyopop decided to 'tone down' her relationships both visually and verbally (Reyes, interview, 15 July 2003).



8.12 Altered American artwork

8.13 Original Japanese artwork

Erasing the sex scene between the girl and her boyfriend and replacing it with her having a dream about him made sure that the publisher would be safe from a possible obscenity charge in the more conservative areas of the USA,[144] which have pushed for *COPPA* also to include drawn images. They further augmented the story by changing the textual component in which the underage character talked about her paid sexual encounters and the one where her lover talks about her skills.

[144] *Miller v. California* 1964) stipulates that obscenity is to be evaluated on a mixture of national and local standards.

TOKYOPOP Translation	My own translation
Page 25 You seem distracted. It's nothing... just these guys I know They go to my high school and they work at a gas station... ...and they said that even if they work the **whole** summer they'll only make 100 thousand yen **each**. Yeah... That **sounds** about **right**. Wow. I **never** knew it was that **hard**. I mean I'm lucky **you** take care of everything I **need**.	*Say, 'Papa'...* *A boy that I know... I heard he is working part-time...* *And, well... He works all summer holiday and all he gets is about 120 thousand yen...* *Um...* *Well, that sounds normal...* *It is really tough to earn money is it not... 'Papa'.* *Yet I get 300 thousand yen just by going to the Hotel with you three times a month...*
Page 35 "Yeah she's got a tight little body." "And some really soft lips. Yeah." "Wow, I'll never be able to look at that **mouth** the same way again." Yeah she'll do **anything** for me. "She looks all sweet and innocent, but get her behind closed doors..." "Like last time. I met her up on the roof and we..." **"...!!"** "**Hey!** What the **hell's your** problem?!"	*She has become good at oral sex, too! Since I have been training her!* *Stop that! There is no way she would do such a thing, with such a sweet face!* *Now I will be imagining these things every time I look her into the face!* *Heheheh!* *You guys!* *Cute face or not, even if women pretend to be unwilling, they will do anything...* *Just the other day, I took her up to the roof, lifted her skirt and...* *...!!* *What is wrong with you!?*

Texts: Initial D (original Japanese text by Shigeno 1997), Vol.1 translation example: ©Tokyopop 2002 and *my own translation 2003*:

The other area that is regulated by law and has increasingly led to law cases being filed is related to display laws, which deal with the shelving of books seen as 'harmful to minors'.[145] One example of such a rule is the 'safe harbour' rule mentioned in the Arkansas Act 858 (CBLDF, online, 22 October 2004). These local laws resonate in many ways with the German policy of placing indexed publications within a restricted

[145] Both Michigan and Arkansas have recently had/currently have ongoing court cases that deal with the display of obscene materials within retailers (www.cbldf.org).

retail structure. Yet, unlike the German case, there is no national body publishing a binding list of titles that cannot be displayed, leaving store owners and clerks to the often arbitrary scrutiny of highly localised standards. As Ervin (interview, 17 July 2003) points out in relation to comic books (but he might also have been talking about music or book stores), "comic bookstores are more exposed", the "owners catch a lot more heat from their individual customers". Independent stores bear the brunt of these issues, since they make good targets in local election campaigns in the police and law enforcement sector. Unlike in Europe, Chiefs, Sheriffs and State Attorneys are often elected to their positions, leading to the sector being highly politicised (Critcher 2003:124). A good law and order display, like going after the shop that sells adult material close to a school, can win such an election even if the material were properly labelled, stored and sold to an adult in accordance with the law. The material being within reach of a school is enough, as can be seen in the recent case of *Callisto v Texas* (ICv2, online, 14 August 2002). An undercover law enforcement office had bought an adult manga from the store's adult section in which children where not permitted. Still, the store clerk who sold it to him was arrested for displaying and selling obscene material to an adult (ibid.) The city council worker of Dallas who was behind the investigation was at the time going for the job of Mayor pro Tem of the Dallas City Council and saw this as a good way to push her bill for zoning standards (ICv2, online, 04 August 2003b). While the Comic Book Legal Defense Fund (CBLDF) got the originally sentence amended, making sure that store clerk Callisto did not have to serve a jail term, he now has a Criminal Record (McWilliams, online, 2006). ICv2 quotes the CBLDF's board member, the attorney Nemschoff, as stating that with the upcoming election, he fears for the whole industry as the fear of further attacks against artists, publishers and retailers rises (ICv2, online, 04 August 2003a). This fear stems in no small part from the Supreme Court's denial to review this First Amendment case. As Brownstein points out, the Supreme Court has taken fewer and fewer potential First Amendment cases in the last few years (Spurgeon, online, 06 November 2004), allowing local community standards to be transferred onto a national level, due to the 'past present' standard, thus creating the fear in more liberal states that the local factors in more conservative states will have a lasting effect on their freedom of expression. All of these developments indicate a clear move towards more conservative rulings, which again start to take a stern paternalistic view. The state attorney in the Callisto case stated the following in

her closing statement: "I don't care what type of evidence or what type of testimony is out there, use your rationality, and use your common sense. Comic books... are for kids" (ICv2, online, 14 August 2002). It is, therefore, no surprise that, by 2004, the climate in which the publishers operated had changed and that retailers now refuse to carry materials that are rated higher than an 'R' As will be seen later in this chapter, this state-censorship also leads to further market-censorship. As discussed above, there are laws and regulations that the nation-state, or in the case of the USA, the states pass that are binding. However, a lot of the censorship that happens is either indirectly related or requested by partners of the publisher, such as retailers. While the market-based issues are in no small part channelled via an agency in Germany, they are mostly retail-based in the USA.

Retail possibilities for manga are an area that in both countries is influenced by another factor: licensing. Licensing agreements made between the original publisher and the licensee clearly stipulate in which territory a localised product might be sold.

The preceding section already showed that there are external factors such as laws that the publisher must adhere to or the existing shape of retail structures that the publisher can avail themselves of. However, there are not just other codified entities that have an impact on the way the publishers conduct their business and that shape their product. To return to Malefyt and Moeran argument raised before, "most products are 'constructed' with a *future* consumer in mind" (2003:20). Yet, it is not only the consumers that the publishers should be aware of; there is another stakeholder from the opposite end of the spectrum that is of equal importance: pressure groups, critical of popular media texts. This chapter will, in turn, focus on both consumers and pressure groups, starting with the former. As the first part of the chapter showed, there are limiting influences on manga such as censorship and retail restrictions handled by the state regulator in Germany. This is not in the case in the USA, where the law provides the framework, but citizen pressure and lawsuits take the role of controller (Croteau and Hoyes 1997:83).

7.3 Pressure Groups – Off Market-Based Censorship and Age Ratings

Market-censorship can either be brought to bear by pressure groups or business associates, who in turn might be pressured by their customers. With an increasing number of product outlets held in fewer hands, the power of these outlets to level demands with regards to the publishers' products increases (Schiller 1989:37), as already discussed in relation to format. Being conceived as guilty of 'unethical behaviour' is not tolerated for long in a pressure group driven society (Klein 2000:165f). As long as manga remained a niche, they were granted little attention; however, the more manga moved into the mass market, the more they were pressured to keep within normative rules. This increase in pressure seems designed to herd publishers into a more conservative direction within a variety of free speech areas. Manga thus stands in line with other media criticised for containing too much sexuality on display and/or violence. While the original articulation of these issues often takes place in the form of a moral panic (e.g. Critcher 2003; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994), it is in media effects theory that it finds its permanent discourse. Media effects theory, though never proven (e.g. Barker and Petley 2000; Jones 2003), remains the groups' strongest argument. The number of issues which raise concern in these groups have grown to include, next to the classics of profanity: obscenity and violence, issues such as smoking, under-age drinking and the use of the swastika (even if explained). This has led to recent rises in what can only be termed as patronising nanny state-like censorship. Furthermore, the debate is now infused with a vocabulary linking the debate to virtual imagery and child pornography discourses, as mentioned above.

The American system of dealing with complaints about media potentially harmful to minors is not dealt with in a centralised fashion as it is in Germany; much more depends on citizen pressure and name and shame campaigns as tools from keeping media producers within bounds (Croteau and Hoyes 1997:83). Due to the politicised nature of the Law Enforcement Sector and the political structures of congress, the boundaries of state- and market-censorship are often blurred. Initiatives frequently start through citizen pressure and moral panic and then make their way into either local legislation or turn into court rulings. From there, they move into national law making committees. At this point, in order to avoid binding legislation, the industry

offers new standards of self-regulation, pledging their willingness to live up to the norms promoted by the lobbyists. Consider for a moment the anti-comic movement of the 1950s and compare it with the current situation. In 1950, the 'Joint Legislative Committee to Study Comics' was formed in New York, and two years later in 1952 was the first try to pass a New York State Anti-Comic Bill (West 1988:45). In 1956, Wertham appeared in front of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency pushing for a federal law against comics. The comic book producers - the Comics Magazine Association of America - tried to prevent this law from being passed by announcing a Code of Ethics - *The Comics Code Seal of Approval* (West 1988:51).[146] Infantino, DC's former President, pointed out that DC's leadership in the 1950s had initially not been favourable to the Code, but that when they received 90% to 95% returns due to the retailers' nervousness, they were faced with no alternative (McWilliams, online, 2006). After all, if the retailers did not stock their product in order to avoid protests in front of their stores or boycotts, they were going to be unable to sell their products at all. When new comics, outside the Code, started to appear in the 1960s, they had to be distributed outside normal retail channels since the traditional ones only stocked products that were covered under the Code (Nyberg 1998:138f).

By 2004, publishers had begun to discuss the formation of an independent rating body with ground rules for every publisher (CMX, panel discussion, 25 July 2004; Levy, interview, 24 July 2004). While plans were still unclear as to whether this body should resemble the film rating board or be something more akin to the *Comics Code*, the idea as such was gaining ground. Yet, this rating body would hold inherent problems due to the continuous dilemma of being faced with legal action, which would be bound to both local and federal norms, making it impossible to work in a completely uncontested space. Manga are popular with their readers and fans because they are different and they contain content that is not so tightly guarded and graded. Therefore, a new 'rating board' might actually end up destroying the range of translated titles available and strike an almost fatal blow, similar to the one dealt for decades by the *Comics Code*. Yet, if the pressure currently applied by retailers increases, manga publishers might have no other choice but to emulate their comic brethren, a reality manga producers are only too aware of. While no coherent system

[146] For an in-depth discussion of the Comic Codes history and development refer to Nyberg (1998).

exists at the moment, there are a number of issues where publishers have yielded to pressure. The amount of books placed in higher age rating brackets has increased, as has the amount of information given on the content (Cha and Wolk, online, 23 February 2007) Publishers have expanded the shrink-wrapping of titles, which has been extended to include not only '18+' titles, but also most titles from '16+' which carry explicit content (Chavez, online, 06 March 2006). Another safeguarding measure, as happened in spring 2004 when Scholastic pulled the beforementioned 18,000 copies of the *Shônen Jump* manga anthology, after a Florida grade school teacher complained about her 5th graders reading materials she saw as unfit for this age (Reid 2004b:13).[147] Considering that the announced paid-for circulation figures for *Shônen Jump* are 180,000 copies per volume (ICv2, online, 07 December 2005), this represents a 10% loss in sales value, something which makes a publisher think twice about possible issues related to taboos or political correctness which might provoke problems. Manga publishers have realised that, most of the time, displaying corporate responsibility works positively for them; it helps them to be seen less as a niche producer and more as a serious publisher. Viz's recent collaboration with 'Reading Is Fundamental' and their involvement in the staging of 'Jump to Japan: Discovering Culture through Popular Art' exhibit that will be touring US museums show similar aspirations (ICv2, online, 14 May 2004).

The market is further censoring these titles via retailers' refusal to stock titles that they perceive as possible risks. Considering the outcome of the Callisto case and the previously discussed self-image of the big book chains as family-oriented, this is not surprising (Klein 2000:165). Edgy titles such as *shônen-ai* and *yaoi*[148] stories are thus mostly sold via the internet in the USA (ICv2, online, 08 November 2004). These web-based stores grant the security that no minors can pick them up by mistake, therefore eliminating the threat of possible complaints levelled at the retailer for indecent exposure of obscene material. Publishers also started to include warnings for these titles on their product pages, similar to the one Tokyopop (US) issue for the seventh volume of the *shônen-ai* cop story *Fake* (Matoh 2003 [1994]):

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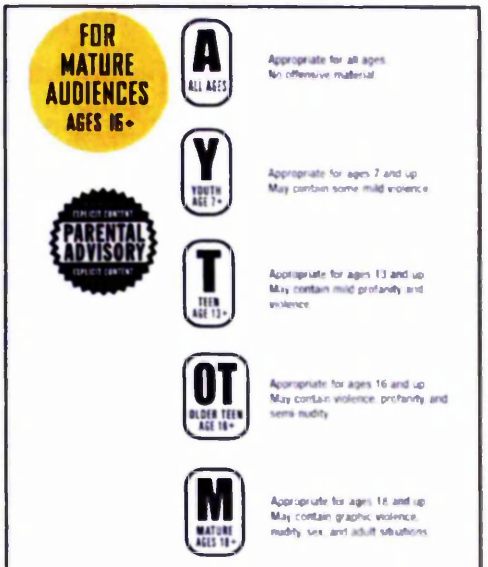
[147] Scholastic originally offered 120,000 copies through fairs at schools; the remaining copies had either been sold or were kept (Reid 2004b:13).

[148] *Yaoi* (*yama nashi, ochi nashi, imi nashi)* meaning "no climax, no point, no meaning", it is a fandom term used in conjunction with *dôjinshi* in Japan. In the US publishing sphere it is falsely used to describe racier or more explicit homoerotic story-lines.

> In the final volume of FAKE, the action heats up on the streets ... and between the sheets! TOKYOPOP believes in bringing our readers 100% Authentic manga, free of censorship. Due to some explicit sexual content, FAKE volume 7 is rated 'M' (recommended for readers 18 and over). Some of the stores that sell volumes 1 - 6 may not carry volume 7 because of the 'M' rating. So, if you have any difficulty finding this exciting final volume of FAKE, please be aware that there are many on-line stores from which it can be ordered. (Tokyopop, online, 2006)

However, considering the recently submitted guilty plea in the Handley case, which has so far dragged on since May 2006 when Christopher Handley was arrested for allegedly ordering obscene material from Japan via the postal service (CDLDF, online, 09 October 2008), it seems likely that this distribution avenue will suffer a belated impact, just like the comic shop and bookstore retailers did in 2005. After all, the court order specifies that, while as an individual Handley has limited rights to own obscene materials, he does not have the right " to possess obscene materials that have been moved in interstate commerce" (*USoA vs. Handley*). It remains to be seen if this will lead to a decrease in manga for adults being translated and/or distribution being further impaired.

One of the direct responses to the heat placed on both bookstore clerks and librarians in the USA by pressure groups after the before-mentioned Callisto case was the implementation of an age rating system by Tokyopop in 2005. These age ratings were devised to further safeguard both publishers and retailers against legal attacks over every single older teen and adult manga, and to showcase the publisher's awareness of their responsibility as a player in the teen market (Kiley; interview, 14 July 2003; Searleman, interview, 19 July 2003). The labels that appear on each book, much like age ratings given to films inform the user about the maturity level of the story within. Clearly visible advisory logos printed on the books themselves are, in such a context, not only seen as guidance but also as insurance from possible charges being levelled at the door of retailers and publishers.



7.14 American age ratings and warning labels

At the end of the day pressure groups appear in the imagination of the publishers as a dominant, not completely predictable personified fear factor; they are a 'ghost' who

sits at the table at every editorial meeting, and they merit further consideration. Due to their interconnectedness and ability to lobby the right kind of key decision makers, for the most part politicians, the press, businessmen, organisations and, in particular, fellow concerned citizens, generally they manage to have a tremendous amount of influence – although their numbers are not that high. Considering these tactics, it is not surprising that Tokyopop's CEO "Levy gave word that some "heat" had been received from parents that *Parasyte*, which already had excess blood edited out, was too violent to be in the same magazine with the *shôjo* manga *Sailor Moon*" (Arnold, online, 2000), leading the publisher to move the shôjo story into a new 'safe' magazine. All of this does not mean that norm-based, market-driven censorship cannot be avoided, although avoidance can have consequences for the publishers. In a recent case, the outcry about possible censorship[149] led Del Rey to change its decision and re-label *Negima* as '16+'; thus enabling them to keep the mild nudity intact instead of partially covering it up (AOD #372909). The amount of money a publisher loses due the restriction brought by the higher age rating hurts,[150] but not, in most cases, as much as a publicly organised boycott at the beginning of a new endeavour.

7.4 Self-Censorship

CMX's handling of *Tenjo Tenge* (oh!great 1997), however, ended in a PR fiasco (ICv2, online, 7 March 2005; Newsarama, online, 13 May 2005). *Tenjo Tenge* is an action story with fan service. Its artist is well-known for his depiction of voluptuous female characters. The story in question was originally aimed at an older teen and adult audience in Japan. CMX heavily self-censored the story in order to market it with a teen rating. This resulted in a highly public backlash for the company and ended with the resignation of Tarbox, as the company's group editor (ICv2, online, 13 May 2005); this did not; however, change the company's policy on the censorship of *Tenjo Tenge*. However, in an uncertain and varying climate such as the one that comic publishers have faced over the last fifty years, it comes as no surprise that currently the "self-censorship approach to the business is the way most companies

[149] "According to *Animenation,* underwear was drawn in to cover some exposed posteriors and strategically placed towels obscure breasts bared in the Japanese version" (ICv2, online, 06 February 2004).
[150] Toren Smith of Studio Proteus said in the mid-1990s that a 'Mature Readers Only' sign can cause up to 40% sales damage (www.sazan.net), he repeated this statement as still accurate in 2005 (Smith, online, 2005).

approach the problem of censorship" (Cohen 1997:132). Chomsky sees this form of resulting self-censorship as the major ingredient of the 'manufactured consensus' in the USA today (Herman and Chomsky 1994:302f).

Self-censorship happens and is based on the same motivation in Germany and the USA; namely, in order to avoid problems, although as became apparent the issues which cause trouble are different. German self-censorship mostly falls into the verbal category only, with controversial art either being sold via restricted channels or not being licensed to being with. The American example, on the other hand, also shows an increase in visual self-censorship since 2004. My research shows that most verbal self-censorship in manga reflects the market-based notions of political correctness that have been ingrained in the translators and editors with regards to what qualifies as appropriate language. As such, it reflects both their choices as well as what they perceive as proper. Allan and Burridge call this way of curtailing dysphemistic language a form of "tacit censorship", since it is not truly necessary, but represents a voluntary conforming to norms that is seen as safe by all parties involved (2006:238), since most of these forbidden and restricted words are "emotionally loaded" (ibid.:237). It is also important to note that my research shows that most translators and editors do not see this as censorship, as long as they simply tone down material that is offensive without changing the meaning. Phrasings such as "I wouldn't call it censorship, however; I'd call it being sensitive to the culture the book is being targeted to" (Hurchalla, questionnaire, March 2003:3) are commonly found. In other words, self-censorship can also occur when individuals make decisions based on their personal outlooks rather than being driven by outside rules (Wiener 1984:93).
One German example would be the exchange of the word 'brothel' with the term 'a certain establishment' in the manga *God Child* (Yuki 2003[2001]) (Schindler, interview, 05 September 2003). Both words convey the same meaning to an adult reader, but might be obscure enough to hide the meaning from a child. The same holds true for expressions of violence and swearwords. To quote a Tokyopop editor "If language or sexual language is disproportionately strong in a series for younger readers, I might soften it, as in changing "shit" to "blast!" in *Gundam*, or "kill" to "destroy" in *RAVE* when children are in danger" (Forbes, questionnaire, March 2003:3).[151]

[151] *Rave Master* (Mashima 2003[1998]; *GGudam* (Yatate *et.al* 2003[1999])

As previously mentioned, this toning down of undesirable behaviour also includes visual changes. In the USA, additionally, representations of underage drinking and smoking have developed into problems in titles aimed at under-sixteen year olds. The replacement of a cigarette with a toothpick in the *shônen* goal-orientated *Prince of Tennis* (Konami 2005[1999]) encapsulates this new practice, clearly showing signs of pressure brought to bear by certain groups within society.

7.15 The cigarette is replaced by a toothpick

THE PRINCE OF TENNIS © 1999 by Takeshi Konomi. All rights reserved. First published in Japan in 1999 by SHUEISHA Inc., Tokyo. English translation rights in the United States of America and Canada arranged by SHUEISHA Inc. Some underage smoking scenes have been modified from the original Japanese edition. The stories, characters and incidents mentioned in this publication are entirely fictional.

7.16 Censorship disclaimer

7.5 Audiences – Fans, of Those who Follow and Create

By 2009, most people have been exposed either to media coverage on manga or to manga itself. In direct response, a great variety of people have articulated themselves on the subject. Yet, only a minority of people have a broader understanding of manga's multifaceted existence. Even the avid fans of manga, who are well informed about its *manga-ka* (manga artists) and storylines (c.f. Fukunaga 2006; Götz and Ensinger 2002; Jüngst 2006; Kaps 2005), remain mostly oblivious to other aspects of the medium such as the type and amount of work that goes into the localisation of the product.

As Myers (1999:170) points out, any target audience is a constructed entity; in other words, a fiction. Yet companies need these fictional consumers, in order to use them when presenting themselves to their licence sources in Japan or business partners in their own country, as well as when planning the content of their programme. In other words, it is a useful fiction turned into a mutually-agreed-upon standard (Moores 1993:3). The majority of manga readers in the twenty-first century fall into the categories of casual readers, followers or genre-related users. Yet, manga also possesses a strong, very vocal, fan base that is active in various forms of fan production and the construction of what could be viewed as an array of informational, critical and promotional content. It is important to notice that the *otaku* community is not a singular community with one voice. There are various groupings within the fandom, both due to age and gender as well as aesthetic and contextual preferences. As Consalvo pointed out, since fandom has moved to use the internet as one of its main platforms, these different interpretations, or 'multiple readings' as she calls it, of the media text have not only become visible, their coexistence has actually become the new norm (2003:75). While discrimination still exists with regards to what is perceived to be part and form of the meta-text itself (Fiske 1992:34), it is now more clearly linked to an exercise of taste and aesthetic discrimination (Frith 1995:352). There are Japanophiles, and Mangahörnchen, *dôjinshi* fanatics and cosplayers to name just a few. To each of them, the part of the text that matters differs. In the end, all of these fans are prone to see localised manga as a singular expression that often does not mirror their expectations as to what this translated expression by an artist 'should' be in light of how they interpret the author's artistic intention. Most consumers and fans of media maintain such a singularly angled view of the media they consume, no matter how many 'makings-of' programmes they watch. They continue to talk of authors, of artists or of directors and what they perceive as their vision.

This notion becomes articulated as arguments, especially concerning issues such as censorship. Censorship in manga is usually seen as being unreflective of this broader narrative by its fans. Instead, they solemnly focus upon the restricting function of the defacto censorship applied. The argument, which is heard repeatedly, as in the case of translation, is that censorship keeps the reader from being able to 'enjoy the original'. The publisher is automatically seen as the 'guilty' party, not serious enough

about 'their medium'.[152] As Smith (online, 2005) points out, texts of substandard translation quality are usually regarded as being far more easily acceptable by fans, unlike pictorial changes, which can provoke - even in the slightest of cases - a heated debate. The text is only criticised if parts of it are heavily edited or censored.

This opinion shows no contextualisation between rules the publisher must follow or be barred from publishing again, normative decisions that are made to ensure the company's ability to maintain financial viability and taste-based decisions. I have noted how Clements pointed out to me that anime fans and fans of Japanese-style sci-fi revel in the illusion of speaking another language, when in reality they could not. I observed similar behaviour in avid manga fans, who behave in a similar pattern, wanting to assume knowledge of Japanese and through this 'turning', after a fashion, Japanese themselves. This extends even to adopting Japanese names, which often, wrongly, include suffixes when they address themselves. This need for the illusion of foreign language knowledge by this group stands in stark contrast to the majority of readers who, when reading a translated work, do not want to be reminded of the text's former foreign language composition (Keene 1992:xvi). Sometimes a publisher might decide to go with the pre-fan approved renderings such as title translations in order to keep the link between the fans and the text intact. One such example is the American publication of *Hana Yori Dango* (Kamio 2004 [1992]). The title is a food-related idiom (rice balls are preferable to flowers), but with different kanji it was here used as a pun (boys are preferable to flowers). However, the fans who had campaigned for years to have the title published in English had long established *Boys over Flowers* as the localised title. Here, the publisher paid credence to the fans and used the expected title (see image 4.24).

7.17 Original manga logo as displayed on Kamui, vol 1 (Shirato 1995 [1964])

7.18 The new manga logo which has been used since 2000

Publishers are aware of the shifts in manga fandom and they often adjust their self image to reflect on this shift. Carlsen Comics, for example, decided to not only brand manga again as an active sub label, something they

[152] See, for example, the AOD manga discussion forum for discussions such as 'Censorship across the board', 'Viz censorship and name changes', 'Boycott Del Rey maybe?' or 'CMX Tenjiho Tenge Fight' (http://forums.animeondvd.com/ubbthreads.php?Cat=2=)

had tried before without much success, but to also visually incorporate the notion of an explosion into the new logo, showcasing the new image of manga as youth-oriented, active and lively. The new logo was a stark contrast with the originally conceived logo, which aimed at a grown up, sophisticated audience; this finished the re-branding of manga which had begun with the format change. Manga were no longer a sophisticated pastime for a few, they had made the transition into youth culture.

Different readings are not the only way in which fans structure themselves. Fandom itself resembles a society; with its insider-outsider, mover-follower dichotomies (MacDonald 1998:136ff), there are various aspects which are ingrained in this sub-group to begin with.[153] Communication between the company and the fans, for example, is seen as crucial from the fans' point of view and is a reality companies need to feel comfortable dealing with to a certain extent. A breakdown of communication often leads to assumptions being made along the lines that the 'company has become arrogant and forgot who **made** them' (anonymous source 2003).

One level that, in this scope, is new in fandom is the notion of fans turning professional in the same way that their Japanese *manga-ka* heroes such as Toriyama Akira, Yû Watase or Clamp, have; this notion is, for the fans, at the core of the previously mentioned competitions. Becoming a famous *manga-ka* presents itself as a 'dream job' in a Western context. For fans, enthusiasm linked to self produced material is an important part of the gratification they receive from their fandom of choice (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998:131f). Carlsen Comics, aware of the amount of fan art being produced in relation to manga and anime, also started a campaign to find German comic artists who might be interested in working in a Japanese format, labelling them *'German Mangaka'*, although it would be more correct to describe them as *mangaesque* or *Pseudo Manga* artists. In fact, during the original 1990s American phase, these locally produced comics were known as *Pseudo Manga*; these days the term *OEL Manga* (*Original English Language Manga*) is incorrectly applied, since manga by definition are Japanese comics and these publications are *mangaesque* comics produced in the USA or Britain. However, as

[153] For further reading on the subject of fans and fan culture turn to: Fiske (1992); Grossberg (1992); Jenkins (1992), Jensen (1992) etc.

discussed in Chapter Six, this phenomenon links both to practical considerations as well as functioning as a very effective branding and marketing tool. In a way, the effect of these self-produced texts reflects what Fiske observed with regards to merchandise: the additional transmitted text can feed back into the source text (2001:85). It is, therefore, not surprising that the ever growing amount of fan art and *dôjinshi* which gets published in Germany is as much of a clear indication of this as are the sales figures for the *How to draw manga* book series. Yet, having a few examples of young artists making it is very different from the production, selling and marketing of vast quantities of home-grown *mangaesque* works in exactly the same way as the translated Japanese manga. This development does also pose a financial risk, as the majority of these young talents are untested.

Furthermore, fans also prefer companies to be staffed and represented by their own kind in order to assure that what they perceive to be the right type of translation occurs. These are the readers whom, in a lot of ways, form the worst critics, due to the fact that "when they see it fit to criticize, cannot rid their minds of this fact" (Savory 1957:57). They, therefore, often have a hard time distinguishing between taste based differences in translation; in other words, the choices they would have made differently, and actual mistakes. The taste based 'mistakes' to them are as wrong as the fact based ones. This links to the notion that fans have a special body of knowledge, which they associate with their fandom (Fiske 1992:34). Since these readers are highly thought of within the fandom hierarchies due to their role as taste makers, they are seen as authority figures by default. Not only are their fan translations preferred, since they use the jargon of the fandom, but they are also seen as bring truer to the text due to the fact that they are translating for other fans and not in order to make money. They set up web pages, which promote the properties they like and through which they lobby for these titles' publication in regional languages. These are one of the sources editors keep an eye on, since they are also by and large the most loyal consumer segment, no matter how much they might criticise the products published (Smith, online, 2005). While their numbers no longer single-handedly decide a title's success, they are still, in many ways, opinion makers. Fans are the ultimate visualised readers: they stimulate the anxieties of the pressure groups and are, due to their vocalness, the first voices picked up when either researching reviews of specific titles or reading articles in the press; this grants

them, to a certain extent, the power to plant opinions which might have a damaging influence on a company's reputation or marginally influence sales of a title. Yet, while fans are very knowledgeable about the content of the medium, they are on the whole ignorant about its production modalities. This difference between manga literacy and production know-how is often at the core of numerous disagreements between publishers and fan communities. That being said, fandom knowledge and its high verbal self-articulation, via transformatory works and criticism, are much like the letter campaigns sent to broadcasters - a tool used by editors to evaluate past performance (Sabal 1992:185) and thus functioning as input into quality assurance mechanisms. These fans insert themselves into the localisation process and become part of the production. They are thus the exemplification of what Jenkins calls convergence (2004:34ff) by no longer only co-opting media texts, but by actively inserting themselves in relation to the media's content (ibid.:36).

As has been seen, all these groups influence, in very different ways, how the medium is developing further in its localised incarnation. This leads to a circulatory system of influence and response that shifts through time as agenda and tastes change.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

"We're radical, crazy, teen-pop-culture guys who do a lot of wild stuff and who have to turn on a dime." Mike Kiley being interviewed by Wyatt 2006

"We're Tokyopop. We do ridiculous things and reinvent ourselves all the time. That's who we are." Mike Kiley being interviews by ICv2 June 8, 2008

"Naturally our goal is to be the best and most popular manga publisher... thus being the top dog is not our central dogma" Kai-Steffen Schwarz, interviewed by Waclawiczek 2005

"40 years Carlsen Comics... celebrate with us" Carlsen PR Release Frankfurt Bookfair 2007

In this thesis I have demonstrated, through asking a lot of smaller interrelated questions, that the manga localisation process is a somewhat fragmented and networked process that is determined by a multitude of actors and factors. This applies both to the organisational workflow as well as the production of meaning and medium. In the end the localisation of manga does not only concern the physical book, but also the way it is framed by the individual publishers in terms of brand image. It is within this push and pull relationship between organisational needs and individual agency that the final book takes shape. So I would like to return to the issue of the medium's supposed lack of accessibility to a Western audience, as asserted by many scholars who argue that manga are 'lost' in translation. What is generally meant by this is that manga lose what they were during translation, or that they are lost to those who consume them due to the lack of proper cultural knowledge (c.f. Napier 1998, 2007; Newitz 1994; Allison 2000b; Katsuno and Maret 2004; Sabucco 2003). But do they? Are they? Or is it that the discourses surrounding manga, such as the academic discourse, something that is also 'produced' during the localisation, makes it appear that way to us? Could the fluidity of points of view and focuses be a modern media production-inherent trait, linked to the struggle between the mass medium's need for an established process and the creativity of the individuals engaged with the medium, rather than a failing? As Chapters Four to Six showed, manga localisation is at all times a two-sided coin: it consists of the work done on the book and the creation of a local brand. These processes not only

influence each other, they also often predetermine each other. So let's recapitulate the most important aspects of both processes and see the impact they have both on each other and the overall product in order to see if this assumption does indeed stand.

8.1 Manufacturing the Product

The physical localisation of manga's textual and graphic components is not where the process starts. As Chapter Three showed, the decision of what a manga is, in terms of what each publisher surmises falls into this category, starts with the choices they make in terms of what they license and commission. They choose titles that fit into their portfolio, which they think will sell well or be valuable to them in some other sense and that they can afford to buy. A media company's portfolio is part of its brand, the tangible part (Bakker 2008:202). While manga fans are aware of what else is published in Japan, this localised limitation of what manga supposedly is, is what most casual consumers are confronted with. It informs their reading habits, as well as their creative re-use of the text in their own production of manga-related art and meaning.

In a circular fashion, localised manga are thus influenced by the articulations of internal and these external voices. The reasons that prompt this external involvement and interest in aspects of the localisation range from enjoyment factors to the financial gains at stake. The impact of these interests has thus to be seen as highly differentiated due to these groups' respective motivations, scope and impact as exemplified in Chapters Six, in regards to distribution and sales channels, and Seven, concerning censorship. In other words editorial, censorship, marketing and sales decisions continue to be highly local and shaped by the decisions of individuals involved in the flow. Consequently, these individual influences lead to changing nuances within localised manga when the people in the production fluctuate. Every manga is composed in the space between the creative decisions of all individuals involved in its physical localisation and the company guidelines for such a localisation as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Here we are not only presented with the actual differences that already happen when two different people translate the same text and the amplification of these differences with every subsequent re-write and

edit, but also different the underlying philosophies of the people involved. These differences become highly visible in the American discourse about the changes American-localised manga went through when the medium's format was switched to that of *tankôbon*. The old guard, as discussed in Chapter Four, argued that manga shifted from art to mass product in an articulation that echoes Adorno's argument about the industrialisation of artistic production, and the loss of artistic value (1991:215). In this discourse the time and handicraft skills employed in early manga translations are seen as artisanal or artistic pursuits, while the modern digital process is seen as the equivalent of industrial production. This shift to seeing and framing mass produced art as products, which are then protected under copyright laws and trademark agreements, has recently gained ground (Potter 2003:163). These steps, seen by many media producers as the ultimate way to protect their intellectual property, and thus justify the costs of the medium's production (Bakker 2008:278). At the same time they are seen by others as a window to allow for greater censorship and normative control of creative outlets, especially in terms of parody or irony (Burt 1994: xi). In the long run, copyrights and trademarks however also pose possible threats to media's free speech status, since American lawyers have already started to argue that copyrighted material looses the status of art and is but a product (Potter 2003:163). Thus if media are products, producers are liable for the faults and possible harm a product may do. It also means that retailers could refuse the medium if it is perceived as harmful or dangerous, leading to further normative safeguards being implemented on the creative process.

There are already rules imposed on the translation, re-writing and editing processes, via the company's guidelines. However for the time being in terms of translation these remain linked to format and grammar rules. In terms of editing they have moved on to regulate what is perceived as the appropriate level, as well as types, of dysphemisms and more recently characters' perceived anti-social behaviour, such as underage smoking. These limitations, that stem both from the personal beliefs of the individuals involved in the localisation process and societal pressures, are curtailing the creative choices available during the localisation, yet also prompt new forms of creativity in terms of the solutions that are found in order to circumvent the problems, such as, for example, employing irony in order to represent the issue.

In terms of the physical production processes, on the other hand, we are confronted with an institutionalised workflow that is becoming increasingly uniform within this medium. This development is being pushed both by technological developments and the higher degree to which we rely on specialised workforces dealing with specific tasks (Marjoribanks 2003:59). Thus manga's outward format and trade-dress increasingly are conforming to international standards.

Even this physical process is not devoid of social influences. The comic book industry per se, and manga publishing specifically, predominately consist of niche producers in an increasingly conglomeratised media production market. Due to the specialised skill requirements in terms of workforce, employees may change companies but not necessary the medium. This consistency in parts of the manga publishing work force has led to a system of knowledge transfer. The freelance status of translators, re-writers and graphic artists further increase this interconnectedness. This is not to say that all publishers follow the same trends: smaller publishers employ a less departmentalised structure and some publishers focus on print media only, while others aim at a multimedia repertoire. Furthermore, some ideas, such as the *tankôbon* format or manga samplers, transfer across borders and are adapted in other localised contexts. Others, such as exclusives or genre-related secondary magazine publications, do not. This shows that some ideas do travel and others based on local structures do not (e.g. Ang 1997; Liebes and Katz 1990). Retailer-linked exclusives as incentives for sales partners make less sense in the German market than in the American one, based on the fact that the sales structure is dominated by small semi- to fully-independent retailers. In the case of news and genre magazines, a transfer of the sheer scope and number of German magazines in the other direction is unlikely, due to the differently structured markets. The per capita quota of magazines and newspapers consumed in Germany is as mentioned before simply far greater (Datamonitor 2003:6). The same applies to certain genres as Chapter Three highlighted.

Hence while outwardly manga have turned into a standardised packaged retail good as far as formats and prices are concerned there remain a multitude of factors that continue to differ, one of these is the articulations of each individual publisher and the place manga have in this articulation.

7.2 Producing Meaning

So let's take a closer look at some of these differences that have emerged throughout the thesis in regards to the two publishers focused upon. As established, Carlsen Comics, while being part of a transnational media conglomerate, operates as a regional brand, linked to a clearly defined language region in Continental Europe. Tokyopop sees itself as a global player and with offices in four countries, which they list, akin to fashion label, under their name to underline their global reach. During my fieldwork both publishers were the leading publishers in the field of manga translation for their specific markets yet the situation has changed since then. The German market has shifted due to new competitors joining the market place. Output has also evolved with Carlsen Comics having scaled back their magazines and having stopped producing DVDs and magazine-unrelated merchandise. In other words, they have refocused on publishing manga, comics and a few *mangaesque* titles, refocusing their effort on the publishing market proper, their original area of production. This strategy has served them well and they have retained their market leadership well into 2007 (Lenz, online, 01 March 2008).

Tokyopop has lost its lead in the field of actual manga localisation to Viz, who were capable of retaking the market leadership after being bought by Shueisha/ShoPro. An increasing number of new publishers have further eroded the market-share in the area of manga publication. Thus Tokyopop has begun a transformatory process that is turning the company into a specialist for various forms of nationally and internationally-produced print and audio-visual media and their translations, as well as the pursuit of cross-media adaptations. Their product line now includes products such as manga and *manwha* translations, *mangaesque* titles of American, British and German origin, co-productions, novel translations, predominantly children-aimed *CineManga*, internet social networking, anime and TV content development. Tokyopop is thus constantly expending their strategy of offering a multi-media product range, leading to the actual product mix on offer constantly changing.

It is however not just the products that have changed. The way both publishers define manga as a medium has also shifted. While both frame themselves as corporate brands with 'manga' as the dominant physical expression of that brand I think that there are crucial differences. Part of this is due to their different focus, one

being a pure publisher and one being a multimedia provider. Thus not only is their brand identity different, but the overall type of brand they are trying to be.

First of all what is contained under the umbrella term 'manga' is far broader in definition at Tokyopop as discussed in Chapter Six. Secondly Tokyopop does frame itself as "entertainment marketplace" and "a full-service entertainment company" (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005), but in reality all signs point to it seeing itself as a lifestyle brand, rather than a simple entertainment brand. Statements such as the one made by its founder Stuart Levy support this argument: "Manga is like hip-hop. It's a lifestyle" (Masters, online, 2006). Mike Kiley, Tokyopop's publisher compares it with Jazz, a format born in a specific time and space that then travelled and changed in an interactive way (ICv2, online, 06 October 2005). To that end the company has become more-and-more interactive with its customers over time. While both Carlsen Comics and Tokyopop started out with talent competitions and forums as their main interface with fans, Tokyopop has morphed into a social network. When entering its webpage with its designated communities and tribes, chat rooms and fan content, it seems for a moment as if the publisher's content is missing and one has entered another fan site. The self-representation of the publisher has merged with the way its core audience articulates itself. As Temporal argues, "people tend to prefer brands that fit in with their self-concept" (2000:53) something Tokyopop is clearly trying to achieve.

By assimilating the audience into its network to such an extent, the company transforms its customers into a de-facto part of their workforce. Unlike the company's core, its contractors and freelancers, they might not have a contract and they might not get a salary, but they are -- for lack of a better term -- employed in the realisation of the brand. This is where the biggest difference between the two publishers resides. Handy's informal fourth leaf stays company-external in the case of Carlsen Comics. There are individuals who shift from the fourth leaf into the second or third, but in doing so they change not only their relationship to the publisher, but also in comparison to their former peers. While the same shifts take place in regards to Tokyopop, the fourth leaf is actively involved in the creative articulation of the brand as living breathing exemplifications of the life-style approach the publisher put at the core of its brand.

This development highlights that the organisational structure of entertainment and lifestyle brands is, since the rise of community and cult marketing, starting to shift and

blur. While such companies are continuing to develop along the lines of a shamrock organisation they are redefining the notions of inside and outside in regards to who is included in the creative side of production. The rise of guerrilla and viral campaigns has furthered this development. A good example is the American marketing campaign Warner Brothers initiated for Nolan's *Dark Knight* in 2008.[154] The campaign officially 'hired' fans as brand ambassadors and 'paid' them in extra content and even physical goods such as cakes and special cell phones (Billington, online, 2007). In the process of transcending the former passive boundaries of marketing such moves consequently push the experience factor, which is what consumers seek today in relation to their brands (Ahonen and Moore 2005:14).

The difference becomes apparent further when comparing the public brand identity employed by the publishers researched. While Carlsen Comics presents itself in trade fairs and conventions as individual and unrelated part to the children's books division, it still presents itself as a publisher of printed media who has over forty years of experience publishing visual print media in the German print media market. A company that supplies children with their media yet also holds the trust of parents and at the same time is held in high esteem by high-brow comic connoisseurs. They are proud of both these facets and portray themselves accordingly (Waclawiczek, online, 2005). They foreground this by focusing their marketing on their individual properties, in other words Carlsen Comics is an umbrella brand. Based on my fieldwork data, the analysis of both Carlsen Comics publications, such as PR material, and external press and magazine coverage focused on the company I would classify Carlsen as: *quality-focused*, *innovative*, yet *conscious of tradition* and *reliable*.

Tokyopop, on the other hand, presents itself as a young, dynamic multimedia provider lead by the vision of its founder Stuart Levy of cross cultural media exchange (e.g. Betros 2004; Cassidy 2004; Jarivs, online, 2003; McLean 2007). My research thus indicates that its projected corporate brand differs from Carlsen's and focuses on: *authenticity*, *youth*, *playfulness* and *personal inspiration*. These 'set of values', a given brand represents through their perceived brand image, is subconsciously analysed by all stakeholders (Vaid 2003:12). As Quarl notices, this

[154] For detailed breakdowns on the stages of the viral campaign and the ARG refer to Radde (online, 2007), the Dark Knight ARG Wiki (logged July 2008) and Billington (online, 2007).

perceived need of brands as social signifiers is especially strong in (young) people who do not stand out due to other personal qualities (2003:31).

This also becomes apparent in terms of central figure heads. While Tokyopop's name and their manga are always linked back its founder Stuart Levy, the person at the centre of its almost literal subjectification (e.g. Betros 2004; McLean 2007), Carlsen has had three men heading the comic division during the time period in which they published manga: Andreas Knigge, Joachim Kaps and Kai-Steffen Schwarz. All three have been credited with different parts in the development of manga in the German market, but the brand Carlsen Comics stands and continues unchanged even if changes take place within its leadership. They are thus not the personification of the brand but its chief ambassadors.

However, I would like to return to the shift in customer relationships and the way it influences the organisation. By taking fans 'inside', the company is trying to shift creative fan output, which they used to frown upon, into a controlled realm in which it furthers the brand along the lines publishers defined it, as already alluded to in Chapter Six. This attempt at harnessing outside creativity and at the same time imposing boundaries on it signals another development in modern media co-operation in general. After going through a phase where corporations tried to silence the fans' appropriation and transformation of their materials completely (c.f. Consalvo 2003; Coombe and Herman 2001; Grainge 2008; Jenkins 2004; Moore 2002), they have now shifted to recognising the potential to further their brands and to supplement their 'workforce' – all while imposing some limits. They are trying to harness the possibilities the polysemy of media texts grants them to make more people feel that their products speak to their interpretation of the text; to make them feel that their interpretation is canon and reflects itself through the incorporation of their interpretation. Especially in a field like manga, where many fans have long argued that the fans' translations are the superior product to the commercially produced one, this shift holds a certain appeal for a publisher who wants to sell its product based on brand identity, like Tokyopop does.

Modern 'brand identity' is thus <u>both</u> an emotional and a functional tool (Aaker1996:97), in other words manga are a story medium and the basis of a lifestyle. The emotional part of branding has received more and more attention in the

recent years (Baldauf 2003: 53) due to the fact that functional arguments alone no longer distinguish the products to a sufficient degree through such tools as community marketing (Cove *et al.* 2007; Weber 2007; Buckingham 2008; Raga and Bueno 2002), network-oriented outlooks (Bruhn 2003) and campaigns aimed at re-affirming customer satisfaction (Varra 1992; Tisch and Weber 2007). So trying to explore ways of making it at least seem that different creative interpretations of the same source text are valid posses both organisational problems and challenges.
Landow (1992:11) argued in relation to internet hypertext that these distinctly different texts that are being produced by the fans start to undermine the very notion of linearity. There is no longer one text that goes in one direction. The same is true for translation. Translation in an organisational setting is defined by its lack of singularity and inherent polysemy. There are a multitude of voices encoded in it and not all of the go in the same direction, on the contrary as the examples of *Clamp School Detectives* or *Love Me Teacher* in Chapter Four show. We, therefore, need to move to see translation as discursive in and with its surroundings. Manga are, more so like many other media embracing what Henry Jenkins calls 'convergence', ultimately a space of meeting, a space were the media (text) is transformed through interest form various sides (2004:37). If we as researchers want to find the places were it takes place, than we need to engage with the translators that literally translate the text, those reshape it and those who frame it.

7.3 Exploring Polysemy – Creativity at Work

Media research has developed in phases. It has, for example, over time moved away from theorising about an objectified, uniform audience (McLuhan 1967; Barthes 1977) to an active and diverse audience (Morley 1980; Ang 1996; Liebes and Katz 1990; McQuail 1997). The research has moved away from seeing media as a text (Ellis 1992; Fiske and Hartley 1978) to seeing it as a production (Croteau and Hoyes 1997). Yet while the audience was given back its agency in the form of its acknowledged choices, re-inventing and sometimes even producing (Fiske 1992; Jenkins 1992), the producer side has remained either a subjectified producer, a unit speaking with a singular voice (Schiller 1989), or an organisational juggernaut bent on cultural domination (Herman and Chomsky 1994; Schneider 1992). While some theorists do recognise the agency of those involved in production, they still believe

that the organisational structure streamlines these personal influences in the end (Cottle 2003; Hall 1978; Hartley 1982). Since we do, at least in a Western context, still cling to the notion of a singular author as the source of all creative decisions, it is not surprising that we like to see translated works in a similar way. However as this thesis has demonstrated there are a multitude of creative decisions that are taken along the way, some are confined to one person and others are arrived at through discussion and discourse. Henceforth the final product is shaped by the norms, creative and taste-based decisions of those involved in its production, marketing and sales, as well as by those who read it and, interestingly enough, those who do not. The final localised manga is a communal effort rather than a singularly produced product, or to use another way of describing it, its production is defined by a 'social character' (Becker 2001:67). Due to this social character the local product evolves and changes in an organic fashion, pulled by sometimes conflicting impulses. The publishers' main interest in terms of self-preservation is to gain and re-assert control over the articulation via their production and in a modern sense this translates into furthering the creativity of those who are linked to the medium in a multitude of ways.

As mentioned at the beginning there are many scholars who automatically acquaint changes like these as suppression of the source culture (e.g. Gibson 2007; Faiq 2007), but is that truly the case when we are talking about the media imported from the second largest media exporter worldwide? Or are they how we assert our claim over the text as a society, through the struggle between creativity and norms, through opening up and limiting, through preserving the stories and using them as inspiration for our own ones? Thus manga are not lost in translation, they are claimed and appropriated as a text that is at all times polysemic in its reading, translation and the way it is lived. Media companies have started to live this reality by shifting their organisational outlooks. Hence when reflecting on the production of media in an organisational structure we need to reflect this shift. By shutting translation down as fixed, scholars only leave one reading of the text open as valid, they negate other forms of interpretation and appropriation. Not to mention its intertextuality, a text, translated or otherwise never stands alone, it stands in context and that context is shifting. So in order to truly research translation of a text the researcher has to shift with the text and those who use it.

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Appendix A
Manga Publishers

fieldwork

Carlsen Comics – http://www.carlsencomics.de
Völckerstr. 14-20
22765 Hamburg

Tokyopop – USA – http://www.tokyopop.com
5900 Wilshire Blvd., Ste. 2000
Los Angeles, CA 90036-5020

Germany

EMA – http://www.manganet.de
Gertrudenstr. 30-36
50452 Köln

Heyne – http://www.randomhouse.de/dynamicspecials/heyne_mangas/start.html
Bayerstr. 71-73
80335 München

Planet Manga (Panini) – http://www.planetmanga.de
Ravenstr. 48
41334 Nettetal-Kaldenkirchen

Reprodukt – http://www.reproduktcomics.de/
Bülowstr. 52/Aufgang 5
10783 Berlin

Tokyopop (D) – http://www.tokyopop.de
Bahrenfelder Chaussee 49
Haus B
22761 Hamburg

Schreiber & Leser – http://www.schreiberundleser.de/
Sendlinger Str. 56
80331 München

USA

AW Productions – http://www.media-blaster.com
Media Blasters
265 West 40th Street, Suite 700
New York, NY 10018

CMX (DC) – http://www.dccomics.com/cmx/
Wildstorm Productions
888 Prospect Ave., Suite 240
La Jolla, CA 92037

Dark Horse – http://www.darkhorse.com
10956 SE Main Street
Milwaukee, OR 97222

Del Rey – http://www.randomhouse.com/delrey/manga/
1745 Broadway
New York NY 10019

D.H. Publishing – http://www.dhp-online.com/
2-3-3F Kanda Jimbocho, Chiyoda-ku,
Tokyo, Japan 101-0051

Digital Manga – http://www.dmpbooks.com
Digital Manga Publishing
1487 West 178th Street, Suite 300
Gardena, CA 90248
(tel): 310.817.8010 (fax): 310.817.8018

Drama Queen L.L.C. – http://onedramaqueen.com/
No public contact information available

DrMaster (used to be ComicsOne) – http://www.comicsone.com/
46257 Fremont Blvd
Fremont, CA 94538|

Go! Comi – http://www.gocomi.com/index.php
Go! Media Entertainment
5737 Kanan Rd. #591
Agoura Hills CA 91301

Infinity Studios LLC – http://www.infinitystudioz.com/
6331 Fairmount Avenue Suite 1
El Cerrito CA 94530

Seven Seas – http://www.gomanga.com/index.php
No public contact information available

Vertical, Inc. – http://vertical-inc.com/
257 Park Avenue South 8th Fl.
New York, NY 10010

Viz – http://www.viz.com
PO Box 77010
San Francisco CA 94107

No longer active as of 2009

ADV Manga – http://www.advfilms.com/manga.asp
5750 Bintliff Dr. STE 217
Housten, TX 77036-2123

Broccoli Books – http://www.broccolibooks.com/
P.O. Box 66078
Los Angeles, CA 90066

CPM (Central Park Media)/ Be Beautiful – www.centralparkmedia.com
250 West 57th Street, Suite 317
New York, New York 10107

Gutsoon! – http://www.raijincomics.com
KS Bldg. 4F
1-31-11 Kichijojihon-cho
Musashino-shi Tokyo 180-0004

Studio Ironcat – http://www.ironcat.com

Appendix B
Currency Conversion

Annual average exchange rate US Dollar to Euro, in case of fixed prices the 2005 average was used.

year	Euro	U.S. Dollar
2000	1	0,923
2001	1	0,895
2002	1	0,945
2003	1	1,132
2004	1	1,244
2005	1	1,245
2006	1	1,257
2007	1	1,371
2008	1	1,473

The average Exchange Rate British Pound to Euro was €1,471 per £1 in 2005.

The fixed exchange rate between German Mark and Euro is 1,96DM equal €1.

Appendix C
Questionnaires

Questionaire 01:

Questionnaire
Translators

Name:

1. How old are you?

- ☐ Less then 18 years
- ☐ 18 – 21 years
- ☐ 22 – 29 years
- ☐ 30 – 40 years
- ☐ Above 40 years

2. What is your mother tongue?

- ☐ English (please continue with 3.a)
- ☐ Japanese (please continue with 3.a)
- ☐ _____ (please continue with 3.b)
- ☐ Bilingual English - Japanese (please continue with 4)
- ☐ Bilingual _____ - _____ (please continue with 3.a)

3.a How long have you been learning/speaking the second language involved in the translations (depending on your mother tongue: Japanese or English)?

____ years

3.b How long have you been learning/speaking the two languages involved in the translation process?

English: ____ years

Japanese: ___ years

4. Do you posses any additional foreign language capabilities?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, _____

5. Do you use already existing translations in other foreign languages, while engaged in translations, as a reference (please tick all relevant answers)?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, to reassure myself were particularly difficult sentences are concerned
- ☐ Yes, as a basic help during the translation process
- ☐ Yes, as a creative inspiration
- ☐ Yes, _____

6. What kind of educational background and job related training do you posses?

_____

_____

_____

7. How did you get started in the translation business?

_____

_____

_____

8. How long have you been translating?

____ years

____ months

9. How did you enter the employment of *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ The company approached me.
- ☐ I applied after reading an advert in _____.
- ☐ I applied after seeing a notice at _____.
- ☐ I heart about the company from others and applied on my own account.
- ☐ I just decided to try my luck and applied.
- ☐ _____

10. How long have you been working for *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ Less then 3 months
- ☐ 3 – 6 months
- ☐ 7 – 11 months
- ☐ 1 – 2 years
- ☐ 2 – 4 years
- ☐ 4 – 6 years
- ☐ More than 6 years

11. Have you been translating professionally before being employed by *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ Yes, for another comic company

  Company: _____

  Titles: _____

- ☐ Yes, however different media products

  Medium: _____

Company: _____

Titles: _____

□ No

12. Are you currently, parallel to you work for *'Name of the Company'*, translating for other companies?

□ Yes

Medium: _____

Company: _____

Titles: _____

□ No

13. How long, before the actual translation starts, do you receive your word of it?

____ weeks / _____ days before the translation process starts

14. How many hours do you usually translate per week?

_____ hours

15. How long does it usually take you to translate a manga?

_____ days

16. How do you translate concepts and other foreign fixed terms (names of persons, food, sports, art etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

17. Do you engage in self-censorship?

□ Yes, when I believe that certain phrases or addresses to characters are insulting
□ Yes, when I believe that the contents is to violent
□ Yes, when I believe the reader would not be able to understand it properly
□ Yes _____
□ No

18. Have you been reading comics/manga as a child?

□ No
□ Yes _____

_____

19. Have you been reading comics/manga as a teenager?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

20. Have you been reading comics/manga, other than those that you are translating, as an adult?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

21. When did your first conscious contact with comics take place?

_____

_____

_____

22. When did your first conscious contact with manga/anime take place?

_____

_____

_____

23. Do you know other manga translators personally?

- □ Yes, some of them are friends
- □ Yes, I am acquainted with some of them
- □ Yes, I meet some once or twice
- □ No

24. What kind of contacts do you have with readers? (please tick all relevant answers)

- □ No contact
- □ In-direct contact through fan mail und emails
- □ Contacts through trade fairs
- □ Contacts through comic fairs and other specialist meetings
- □ Contacts through fan conventions
- □ Contacts through my personal background
- □ Contacts through others, e.g. fan clubs
- □ Other Contacts _____

25. How would you evaluate the frequency of your contact with readers?

- □ No contact
- □ Rarely
- □ Once in a while
- □ Regularly
- □ Constant

_____

26. What kind of people, in your opinion, are reading *'Name of the company'* manga?

_____

_____

_____

27. How do you estimate the relation between raw translation and editorial work over of a text?

- □ On the average
  Translation: %
  Editorial work over: %

- □ Depending on the editor it can be
  Minimal: %
  Maximal: %

- □ No idea

28. How much importance do you think have the following areas, when it comes to the success of the end product 'Name of the Company' manga? (in school marks: 1: very important – 6: absolutely unimportant)

Translation:
Editorial work over:
Cover:
Layout:
The company's advertisement:
Outside influences:

29. What does, in your opinion, the category of 'Outside influences' contain?

_____

_____

_____

Questionaire 02:

Questionnaire
Re-Writers

Name:

1. How old are you?

- ☐ Less then 18 years
- ☐ 18 – 21 years
- ☐ 22 – 29 years
- ☐ 30 – 40 years
- ☐ Above 40 years

2. What is your mother tongue?

- ☐ English (please continue with 4)
- ☐ Japanese (please continue with 3)
- ☐ _____ (please continue with 3)
- ☐ Bilingual English - Japanese (please continue with 4)
- ☐ Bilingual _____ - _____ (please continue with 3.a)

3. How long have you been learning/speaking English?

_____ years

4. Do you posses any additional foreign language capabilities?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, _____

5. What kind of educational background and job related training do you posses?

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. How did you get started in the re-writing business?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. How long have you been re-writing?

____ years

____ months

8. How did you enter the employment of *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ The company approached me.
- ☐ I applied after reading an advert in _____.
- ☐ I applied after seeing a notice at _____.
- ☐ I heart about the company from others and applied on my own account.
- ☐ I just decided to try my luck and applied.
- ☐ _____

9. How long have you been working for *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ Less then 3 months
- ☐ 3 – 6 months
- ☐ 7 – 11 months
- ☐ 1 – 2 years
- ☐ 2 – 4 years
- ☐ 4 – 6 years
- ☐ More than 6 years

10. Have you been re-writing professionally before being employed by *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ Yes, for another comic company

  Company: _____

  Titles: _____

- ☐ Yes, however different media products

  Medium: _____

  Company: _____

  Titles: _____

- ☐ No

11. Are you currently, parallel to you work for *'Name of the Company'*, re-writing for other companies?

- ☐ Yes

  Medium: _____

  Company: _____

  Titles: _____

- ☐ No

12. How long, before the actual re-write starts, do you receive your word of it?

____ weeks / _____ days before the translation process starts

13. How many hours do you usually re-write per week?

_____ hours

14. How long does it usually take you to re-write a manga?

_____ days

15. How do you deal with foreign concepts and other foreign fixed terms (names of persons, food, sports, art etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. Do you engage in self-censorship?

- □ Yes, when I believe that certain phrases or addresses to characters are insulting
- □ Yes, when I believe that the contents is to violent
- □ Yes, when I believe the reader would not be able to understand it properly
- □ Yes _____
- □ No

17. Have you been reading comics/manga as a child?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

18. Have you been reading comics/manga as a teenager?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

19. Have you been reading comics/manga, other than those that you are translating, as an adult?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

20. When did your first conscious contact with comics take place?

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. When did your first conscious contact with manga/anime take place?

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. What kind of contacts do you have with readers? (please tick all relevant answers)

- □ No contact
- □ In-direct contact through fan mail und emails
- □ Contacts through trade fairs
- □ Contacts through comic fairs and other specialist meetings
- □ Contacts through fan conventions
- □ Contacts through my personal background
- □ Contacts through others, e.g. fan clubs
- □ Other Contacts _____

23. How would you evaluate the frequency of your contact with readers?

- □ No contact
- □ Rarely
- □ Once in a while
- □ Regularly
- □ Constant

_____

24. What kind of people, in your opinion, are reading *'Name of the company'* manga?

_____

_____

_____

_____

25. How do you estimate the relation between raw translation and editorial work over of a text?

- □ On the average
  Translation: %
  Editorial work over: %

- ☐ Depending on the editor it can be
  Minimal: %
  Maximal: %

- ☐ No idea

26. How much importance do you think have the following areas, when it comes to the success of the end product 'Name of the Company' manga? (in school marks: 1: very important – 6: absolutely unimportant)

Translation:
Editorial work over:
Cover:
Layout:
The company's advertisement:
Outside influences:

27. What does, in your opinion, the category of 'Outside influences' contain?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Questionaire 03:

Questionnaire
In-house staff

Name:

1. How old are you?

- ☐ Less then 18 years
- ☐ 18 – 21 years
- ☐ 22 – 29 years
- ☐ 30 – 40 years
- ☐ Above 40 years

2. How long have you been working for *'Name of the Company'*?

- ☐ Less than three month
- ☐ 3 - 6 months
- ☐ 7 - 11 months
- ☐ 1 - 2 years
- ☐ 2 - 4 years
- ☐ 4 - 6 years
- ☐ More than 6 years

3. What is your official job title and, which department do you work for?

_____

4. Have you always been working in this department?

- ☐ No, I used to work for _____
- ☐ Yes

5. What kind of contract do you have?

- ☐ Intern
- ☐ Unsalaried Employee (training purpose)
- ☐ Trainee
- ☐ Freelancer
- ☐ Hired Hand
- ☐ Part Time Employee
- ☐ Full Time Employee
- ☐ Full Time Employee
- ☐ Other

6. Have you always had this employment status?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No, I started out as _____
- ☐ No, I started out as Trainee, Intern or Unsalaried Employee

7. Have you been working in the publication business before entering your employment at *'Name of the Company'*?

- □ Yes, even in a comic/manga company: name: _____
- □ Yes, however, in an unrelated field of publishing: area & name: _____
- □ No, I used to work in the area of_____ name: _____

8. What kind of educational (college) and job training do you posses?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Have you been reading comics/manga as a child?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

10. Have you been reading comics/manga as a teenager?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

11. Have you been reading comics/manga, other than those that you are working on, as an adult?

- □ No
- □ Yes _____

_____

12. When did your first conscious contact with comics take place?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. When did your first conscious contact with manga/anime take place?

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. What kind of contacts do you have with readers? (please tick all relevant answers)

- □ No contact
- □ In-direct contact through fan mail und emails
- □ Contacts through trade fairs
- □ Contacts through comic fairs and other specialist meetings
- □ Contacts through fan conventions
- □ Contacts through my personal background
- □ Contacts through others, e.g. fan clubs
- □ Other Contacts _____

15. How would you evaluate the frequency of your contact with readers?

- □ No contact
- □ Rarely
- □ Once in a while
- □ Regularly
- □ Constant

_____

16. What kind of people, in your opinion, are reading *'Name of the company'* manga?

_____

_____

_____

_____

17. How much importance do you think have the following areas, when it comes to the success of the end product of *'Name of the Company'* manga? (in school marks: 1: very important – 6: absolutely unimportant)

Translation:
Editorial work over:
Cover:
Layout:
The company's advertisement:
Outside influences:

18. What is, in your opinion, contained in the category of 'Outside influences'?

_____

_____

_____

_____

EDITORS ONLY

19. How do you estimate the relation between raw translation and editorial work over of a text?

- ☐ On the average
  Translation: %
  Editorial work over: %
- ☐ Depending on the editor it can be
  Minimal: %
  Maximal: %
- ☐ No idea

20. How do you deal with foreign concepts and other foreign fixed terms (names of persons, food, sports, art etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. Do you engage in self-censorship?

- ☐ Yes, when I believe that certain phrases or addresses to characters are insulting
- ☐ Yes, when I believe that the contents is to violent
- ☐ Yes, when I believe the reader would not be able to understand it properly
- ☐ Yes _____
- ☐ No

Appendix D
Additional Material Referenced

Books:

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Henderson, James (1847) *Funny Folk*, London: Red Lion House
Murakami, Hauki (2003) *Naokos Lächeln*, Germany: btb
Pullman, Philip (1995) *His Dark Materials*, London: Scholastic
Rowling, J.K. (1997) *Harry Potter*, London: Bloomsbury
Twain, Mark (1855) *Huckleberry Finn*, New York: Charles L. Webster

Comics:

Bourgeon, François (1980) *Les Passegers du Vent*, Paris: Casterman
Bourgeon, François (1981) *Reisende im Wind*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Hansen, C.; Hansen, V. (1951) *Rasmus Klump*, Kopenhagen: Danish Illustrationsforlaget/PIB
Hansen, C.; Hansen, V. (1953) *Petzi*, Hamburg: Carlsen
Hérge (1929) *Tintin*, Paris: Casterman
Hergé's (1967) *Tim und Struppi*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Miller, Frank (1986) *The Dark Knight returns*, New York: DC Comics
Miller, Frank (1989) *The Dark Knight Returns*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Pini, Wendy; Pini, Richard (1978) *Elfquest*, USA: Warp Gaphics
Pini, Wendy; Pini, Richard (1997) *Elfquest*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Pratt, Hugo (1970) *Corto Maltese*, Paris: Pif
Pratt, Hugo (1981) *Corto Maltese*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Smith, Jeff (1991) *Bone*, USA: Cartoon Books
Smith, Jeff (1997) *Bone*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Spiegelman, Art (1986) *Maus*, New York: RAW
Wringman, Charles (1860) *Japan Punch*, Yokohama: Wringman Selfpublication

Co-productions:

Asamiya, Kia (2000) *Batman: The Child of Dreams*, New York: DC Comics
Kojima (1998) *Wolverine*; Tokyo: Bamboo Comics/Marvel Comics Group
Kujirandô, Misaho; Milky, D.J. (2004) *Princess Ai*, Tokyo Shinshokan/Tokyopop
Knaak, Richard; Kim, Jae Hwan (2005) *Warcraft: The Sunwell Trilogy*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop

Films/Television Series:

Alps no shôjo Heidi (1974) Masterpiece Theatre, Tokyo: Nippon Animation
American Beauty (1999) Directed by Sam Mendes, USA: Dreamworks
Area 88 (2004) Directed by Isamu Imagake, Japan: Media Factory
Area 88 (2007) Directed by Isamu Imagake, UK: ADV Films
Biene Maya (1976) Masterpiece Theatre, aired by ZDF
Buffy the Vampire Slayer (1997) Produced by Joss Weadon, Warner Brothers
Cho Jiku Kidan Shouthern Cross (Super Dimensional Cavalry: Southern Cross) (1984) Produced by Masanori Nakano, Big West Tatsunoko
Cho Jiku Yosai Macross (Super Dimensional Fortress: Macross) (1982) Produced by Akira Inoue, Anime Friend
Dragon Ball (1986) Created by Akira Toriyama, Tokyo: Toei Animation
Dragon Ball (1999) Created by Akira Toriyama, aired by RTL2
Heidi (1977) Masterpiece Theatre, aired by ZDF
Helvetica (2007), documentary, Directed and Produced by Gary Hustwit, Swiss dots Limited
Indiana Jones – Raiders of the Lost Ark (1981) Directed by Steven Spielberg, USA:

Paramount
Kiko Soseiki Mospeada (Genesis Climber Mospeada) (1983) Directed by Katsuhisa Yamada, Anime Friend
Mitsubachi Maya no boku (1976) Masterpiece Theatre, Tokyo: Nippon Animation
Nils no fushigi na tabi (1981) Masterpiece Theatre, Tokyo: Nippon Animation
Nils Holgerson (1984) Masterpiece Theatre, aired by ZDF
Reign (1999) Created by Peter Chung, MAD HOUSE
Reign (2002) Created by Peter Chung, Tokyopop
Romeo + Juliet (1996) Directed by Baz Luhman, USA: 20th Century Fox
Star Trek (1966) Produced by Gene Rodenberry, Paramount
The Dark Knight (2007) Directed by Christopher Nolan, USA: Warner Brothers
The Simpsons (1989) Produced by Matt Groening, 20th Century Fox

Manga:

Akamatsu, Ken (1998) *Love Hina*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Akamatsu, Ken (2002) *Love Hina*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop
Akamatsu, Ken (2003) *Mahô Sensei Negima!*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Akamatsu, Ken (2004) *Negima*, New York: Del Rey
Aoki, Takao (2002) *Beyblade*, Tokyo: Shogakukan
Asamia, Kia (1991) *Silent Möbius*, Tokyo: Kadokawa
Asamia, Kia (2000) *Silent Möbius*, Modena: Generation Comics
Buronson; Hara, Tetsu (1983) *Hokuto no Ken (Fist of the North Star)*, Tokyo: Coamix/Shinshokan
Buronson; Hara, Tetsu (2003) *Fist of the North Star*, USA: Gutsoons! Entertainment
Buronson; Hara, Tetsu (1991) *Fist of the North Star*, San Fransico: Viz
Clamp (1997) *Card Captor Sakura*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Clamp (1992) *Clamp School Detectives*, Tokyo: Kadokawa Shôten
Clamp (2003) *Clamp School Detectives*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop
Clamp (1993) *Magic Knight Rayearth*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Clamp (1997) *Magic Knight Rayearth*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop
Egawa, Tatsuya (1991) *Golden Boy*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Egawa, Tatsuya (2001) *Golden Boy*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Fujimoto, Hiroshi (1969) *Doraemon*, Tokyo: Shogakukan
Gainax (2000) *FLCL*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Gainax (2003) *FLCL*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Gainax; Sadamato,Yoshiyuki (1995) *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, Tokyo: Kadokawa Shôten
Gainax; Sadamato,Yoshiyuki (1999) *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Gokurakuin, Sakurako (2001) *Aquarian Age – Juveneile Orion*, Tokyo: Broccoli
Gokurakuin, Sakurako (2003) *Aquarian Age – Juveneile Orion*, Los Angeles: Broccoli
Hagiwara, Kazushi (1988) *Bastard*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Hagiwara, Kazushi (2002) *Bastard*, Modena: Planet Manga
Hayakawa, Tomoko (2000) *Yamato Nadeshiko Shichihenge*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Hayakawa, Tomoko (2004) *The Wallflower*, New York: Del Rey
Higuchi, Tachibana (2002) *Alice Academy*, Tokyo: Hakusensha
Higuchi, Tachibana (2006) *Alice Academy*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Hirano, Kôta (1997) *Hellsing*, Tokyo: Shônen Gahôsha
Hirano, Kôta (2003) *Hellsing*, Milwaukee: Dark Horse
Hirano, Kôta (2004) *Hellsing*, Modena: Planet Mange
Hisaya, Nakajo (1997) *Hanazakari no kimitachi E* , Tokyo: Hakusensha
Hisaya, Nakajo (2004) *HanaKimi*, San Fransisco: Viz
Hongo, Akiyoshi (2002) *Digimon*, Tokyo: Toei
Hongo, Akiyoshi (2003) *Digimon*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop
Hoshino, Yokinobu (1992) *2001 Nights*, Tokyo: Futubasha
Hoshino, Yokinobu (1995) *2001 Nights*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Hotta, Yumi; Obata, Takesh (1998) *Hikaru no Go*, Tokyo: Shueisha

Iwaaki, Hitosi (1990) *Parasyte*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Iwaaki, Hitosi (1997) *Parasyte*, Los Angeles: Tokyopop
Kamio, Yoko (1992) *Hana Yori Dango*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Kamio, Yoko (2004) *Boys over Flowers*, San Fransisco: Viz
Kanzaki, Masaomi (1998) *Hagane*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Kanzaki, Masaomi (2003) *Hagane*, Modena: Planet Manga
Kanzaki, Masaomi (1987) *Juuki Kouhei Xenon*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Kanzaki, Masaomi (1995) *Xenon*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Katsu, Aki (1997) *Futari Etchi*, Tokyo: Hakusensha
Katsu, Aki (2003) *Manga Love Story*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Kishimoto, Masashi (2000) *Naruto*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Kishimoto, Masashi (2001) *Naruto*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Kishimoto, Masashi (2003) *Naruto*, San Fransico: VIZ
Kishiro, Yukito (1990) *Battle Angel Alita*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Kishiro, Yukito (1996) *Battle Angel Alita*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Kishiro, Yukito (2000) *Battle Angel Alita*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Kitoh, Mohiro (1998) *Naru Taru*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Kitoh, Mohiro *(1999) Shadow Star - Narutaru*, Milwaukee: Dark Horse
Kitoh, Mohiro (2002) *Naru Taru*, Berlin: EMA
Kodaka, Kazuma (1993) *Kusatta Kyôshi no Hôteishiki,* Tokyo: Biblos
Kodaka, Kazuma (2005) *Kiss Me Teacher*, Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Koike, Kazuo; Kojima, Goseki (1970) *Kozure Ôkami*, Tokyo: Koike Shoin Publising
Koike, Kazuo; Kojima, Goseki (1987) *Lone Wolf and Cub*, San Fransico: Viz
Koike, Kazuo; Kojima, Goseki (1996) *Ôkami,* Hamburg: Carlsen Comics
Koike, Kazuo; Kojima, Goseki (2002) *Lone Wolf and Cub*, Modena: Planet Manga
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Konomi Takeshi (2000) *Prince of Tennis*, Tokyo: Shueisha
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Mashima, Hiro (1998) *Rave*, Tokyo:Kodansha
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Nightow, Yasuhiro (1995) *Trigun*, Tokyo: Tokimashoten
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Oda, Euchiro (1997) *One Piece*, Tokyo: Shueisha
Oh!great (1997) *Tenjo Tenge*, Tokyo: Shueisha
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Ono, Toshito; Tajiri, Satoshi (1997) *Pokémon*, Tokyo: Shogakukan
Otomo, Katsuhiro (1982) *Akira*, Tokyo: Kodansha
Otomo, Katsuhiro (1988) *Akira*, New York: Epic Comics
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Shigeno, Shuichi (1997) *Initial D*, Tokyo: Kodansha
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Shirato, Sanpai (1964) *Kamui Den*, Tokyo: Shogakukan
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